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**MEMOIRS OF  
MARSHAL BUGEAUD.**

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**VOL. II.**



MEMOIRS  
OF  
MARSHAL BUGEAUD

FROM HIS PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE  
AND ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS,  
1784–1849.

BY  
THE COUNT H. D'IDEVILLE,  
*Late Prefect of Algiers.*

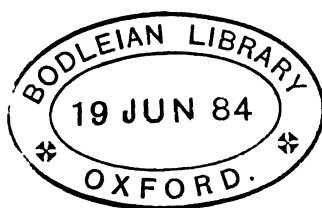
EDITED, FROM THE FRENCH,  
BY  
CHARLOTTE M. YONGE,  
AUTHOR OF 'THE HEIR OF REDCLIFFE,' ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.  
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# MEMOIRS OF MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

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## CHAPTER I.

### MEDEAH AND MILIANAH (1841).

Installation at Algiers—The Colonists of Dely-Ibrahim and the Dram-sellers—Blidah—Travel in the Province of Constantine—Evacuation of small Military Posts—Return to Algiers—Victualling of Medeah—Report—Organization of an Arab Tribe—Letter of a Lieutenant in the 34th—Arrival of the Duke de Nemours—Victualling of Milianah—Passage of the Col—Battle, admirable Manceuvre—Accounts of the Battle.

THE Governor-general had no sooner arrived at Algiers than he prepared for a campaign. In fact, he took very little time in settling himself and entering upon his government. Two days after his landing he went to visit the immediate neighbourhood of his new capital. Passing through the villages and uncultivated lands of Dely-Ibrahim and Douera, he dismounted from his horse to give some advice to the inhabitants, and especially persuaded them not to abandon their lands, though they had left them untouched from fear of pillagers and marauders.

Really, in these new centres, the miserable trade of the inn-keepers, commonly called dram-sellers\* in Algeria, was the only one that had flourished. This trade arising from the passing, or collection, of

---

\* 'Marchands de goutta.'

soldiers, took up all the little capital of our few colonists, and made them desert the fields. In his ride to Blidah the Governor observed a space of 2000 mètres of fertile land surrounded by a ditch, the Rogniat system. He speedily had roads marked out, and selected a site for a village; dividing off lots of six hectares for grants to the first colonists who should make their appearance. These cares and thoughts in the first moments seem to show that the Governor, while not neglecting his heavy military duties, had perceived that his mission was not limited to the conquest of fresh territory, but also included the preservation, colonisation, and cultivation of what we now possessed.

After a flying visit to the positions of Algiers and Blidah, he sailed in March for the province of Constantine, leaving orders with General Baraguey-d'Hilliers, who took the command in his absence, for the abandonment and destruction of the camps of Fondouk and Mahelma. This was but a short absence. Entering the province by Bona, he left it by Philippeville, Djijilly, and Bougie, taking care to cause the evacuation of all the military posts, except Ghelma and Sétif, as Abdel-Kader might transfer the theatre of war to that quarter. The treaty of peace of the Tafna had been broken in November, 1839. Perhaps it would be rash to inquire which of the parties commenced hostilities. But certainly the Duke of Orleans' expedition through the defile of Bibans, the Iron Gate, was considered a challenge by the Emir, and caused him to take a bloody revenge by massacring our colonists in the Mitidjah. Next year the Prince-Royal captured Medeah and Milianah, and returned to France.

When the Governor returned to Algiers on the 18th of March, he declared all the spots in Algeria occupied by our troops to be in a state of war. This measure, imperiously demanded by the condition of things, placed all the African militia under the orders of the military authority, and also subordinated the civil power to it for all matters of police.

The first thing to think of was the provisioning of Medeah and Milianah. This was the commencement of the series of expeditions against Abdel-Kader, and after the combats of the 29th of April and 3rd of May our formidable adversary was pursued much farther, even to the midst of the province of Oran.

There is a letter from M. Léon Roches, written while he was with the Emir, that gives most interesting information on the organization of a tribe, as it was when hostilities commenced in 1840 :—

*Tlemcen, February, 1838.*

In my letter of 19th December last, I told you about the Emir, his government, and his policy; and you may have seen that there was nothing I could teach such an able chief. So you see clearly as to Abdel-Kader. Now, I will give you an idea of the constitution of a tribe in the Tell. This is only a sketch of Arab society in Algeria; and yet, when you have read my letter, I am sure you will advise me to examine carefully everything that I see, but to be very careful not to give any advice for the improvement of the condition of a people who have the invaluable advantage of thinking themselves happy.

The tribe is a great family, bearing the name of its people and of its founder. It is divided into several douairs. Each douair is ruled by a sheik (old man). It is generally the oldest of the chiefs of tents who elect him.

The meeting of all the sheiks of douairs makes the djemâa, the council of ancients of the tribe.

All the orders of the head of the government are communicated by the kaid to the djemâa, and they execute them.

Any business concerning the tribe is discussed in this assembly. The decisions are always respected by the parties interested; it

decides on the desirability of any particular alliance, if, as often happens, the country is in a state of anarchy.

It fixes the site of the tribe and the douairs.

When any influential member of the tribe wishes to marry a daughter of another tribe, it is the djemâa that proposes for her.

The traditions of the tribe, and the titles to its property, are preserved among the ancients of the council.

Each head of a family has his property perfectly defined in deeds drawn up by the kadi; the boundaries of these properties are known by the sheiks, and they come and bear witness before the judge in case of dispute. The common property is also known by all.

Every matter of internal police is regulated by the djemâa; every civil or criminal dispute is sent by it to the kadi. The meeting of the kadis of several families forms medjelis, a court of appeal, before which parties can bring the decisions of a single kadi.

In every douair there is found a taheb, man of letters, who offers prayer for all, and teaches the children of the chiefs of tents to read and write. He is paid by the whole douair.

All the flocks of the douair are guarded by one or more shepherds paid from the general fund.

In the season for work, the Arabs who own cattle, seed, or money, find work for those who have no resources.

These last, called khammès, have the fifth part of the net produce at harvest.

If a family has lost its head, or if he is quite unable to supply its wants, the douair, or indeed several douairs, give it one or two days' work with the plough; they find the seed, and all the harvest is for the unfortunate family.

All the chief tasks, the harvest, carrying the sheaves, and thrashing with horses, are done in common. Every one contributes labour and beasts of burden.

If they are in a state of war, all the armed horsemen of the tribe guard the operations of labour, or the harvests of the different douairs, according to the crop.

Those, who have no land, work upon the lands of those who have too much, without payment of rent, but taking care to request the permission of the djemâa.

The flocks browse in a mass over the common lands.

The tax demanded by the chief of the State is divided by the djemâa just as fairly as it is by our general councils of departments.

The Arab is really only compelled to work for two months at seed-time in winter, and one in summer for harvest. He spends the nine other months on horseback, sometimes running the markets to exchange his produce, sometimes visiting his friends. A large portion of his days is spent in attending the feasts that the Arabs give on occasions of births, deaths, circumcisions, and marriages.

All these feasts are so many tournaments, where he hopes to attract notice by his dexterity in the management of his horse and gun.

The evenings pass either in listening to songs in honour of the Prophet, or to histories of the high deeds of his ancestors.

All domestic work is left to the females, for a man can marry as many as four; he only depends on himself for the care of his horse.

He lives upon corn that the earth produces for him abundantly, without requiring much labour; the flesh of his flocks costs him but a little watchfulness. He drinks their milk, and his clothing is of their wool woven by his wives.

The fleeces of his flocks, sheep, goats, and camels, provide him with the wool, from which the same women weave his tents.

He sells the surplus of his corn, and of his herds, and buys his weapons, his ammunition, and the few articles of luxury he allows himself and his family.

This, my dear friend, is the barbarous, wild, and wretched Arab I am come to civilise!

Without going into small details of facts, we shall generally make use of the General's own words, and give his reports and instructions. There is not one action, one word, or one line of Bugeaud's that does not bear the impress of his character, of his temperament, and his practical and bold mind.

On the 6th of March, 1841, immediately before his expedition to the west, the Governor-general had issued some decrees, in preparation for the opening of the campaign:—1st. Forbidding trade with any tribes that had not made peace with France. 2nd. Announcing that the submission of isolated families would not be accepted, only that of the chiefs of tribes. 3rd. Rendering it obligatory upon all Arabs, moving within the pacified zone, to wear ostensibly a hexagonal medal of white metal, inscribed with the words, 'Subject Arab,' in French and Arabic.

On the 23rd of March, an order was issued forbidding the colonists from using fire-arms for

sporting purposes within any of the dependencies, except that of Bona, so as not to cause false alarms to the troops.

His first journey to the east had lasted twelve days. He had entrusted the command of Constantine to General Négrier, that of Philippeville to General Lafontaine. The new Governor had thus visited Bona, Ghelma, Constantine, Philippeville, and Bougie; and on his return from this rapid excursion he organized the native militia at Djijilly, at Medeah, and at Coleah.

The Governor-general left Algiers on the 30th of March, at the head of his expeditionary column and convoy of provisions. Twelve days afterwards he gave an account of the results of his first campaign.

In fact, on the 12th of April, he sent the following report to Marshal Soult, War Minister and President of Council :—

*Algiers, 12th April, 1841.*

SIR,—I left Algiers on the 30th of March, with all the transport I had prepared, and next day reached Blidah.

On the 1st of April I marched with the provision train intended for Medeah, proceeding in the direction of Aouch-Mouzaia. At the same time General Changarnier, with three battalions, crossed the Chiffa, and took a path up the Atlas to turn the Col de Mouzaia, and occupy it.

On his side General Duvivier, with three battalions, started from Ain Téleizir to examine a road to Medeah, supposed to be better and shorter than that of Teniah. This was a perfectly mistaken idea, and this column only found a detestable road, and a chain of hills very difficult to cross, although General Duvivier had nothing to impede him but fifteen mules with litters. This column had to encounter the firing of the Kabyles without being able to catch them, and its rear-guard, two companies of the 17th Light, attacked in a country covered with brushwood, had to meet an attack from one of Abdel-Kader's regular battalions; but this battalion was finally repulsed by an offensive reprisal.

However, General Changarnier passed through the tribe of Mouzaia without encountering resistance, and occupied the Col.

On the 1st of April the Col was crossed. Nothing was to be seen but some Kabyle skirmishers: the column passed the night at the Olive Grove, and next day reached Medeah.

The same day I left Medeah, going towards the Olive Grove to spend the night there. On this march some thousand horsemen attacked the left flank of the column; I at once ordered the three battalions on the flank of the column to take off their packs, one of them being under the command of H.R.H. the Duke d'Aumale, and I sent them at the double against the Arab cavalry, supporting them with 400 horse; the enemy left several men and their horses on the ground, and had many wounded.

Next day, the 2nd of April, at daybreak, the train climbed the slope of the Atlas. Day had only just broken, when 1200 to 1500 Arab horsemen, coming down the side of Medeah, and the battalion of El Barkani, coming from the Chiffa, attacked my rear-guard. General Changarnier, who commanded it, held the enemy; but very soon I saw the two battalions of the Khalifates of Milianah and the Sebaou, debouching from the west, marching towards the foot of the mountain, flanked by numerous Kabyles, and aiming at the right flank of General Changarnier. I had placed two battalions in échelon, near the Copper-mine, and they were enough to alarm these regulars, who retreated, expecting to be attacked.

Seeing that it was impossible to come to close quarters with the enemy, I arranged a larger movement, carried out by a battalion of the 23rd and one of the 53rd, who were to descend from ridges nearly to the level of the Col, and so turn the whole system of lower ravines, throw themselves upon the enemy, and take them in reverse. This attack was made at the double, but the regulars broke and scattered about the ravines; however, a considerable number were killed, and eleven prisoners taken. Captain Allonville's Moorish gendarmes distinguished themselves in this engagement.

When the Arab cavalry opposed to General Changarnier saw the battalions of regulars so much compromised, they came up to assist them.

The General at the same time resumed the offensive against the regulars, and caused them some loss; at this moment he was struck by a ball in the shoulder. At first his wound was supposed to be mortal; but the ball was extracted, and this brave officer again took his place, leading his men.

As the fighting had ceased on the right, and was lessening on the left, I ordered General Changarnier to retire, and General Duvivier, who was on the heights to the left, to cover the retreat. He performed the duty bravely, and with a good knowledge of the country.

The column reached the Col where the train was, guarded by a battalion of the 53rd; it then descended to Mouzaia, and the wounded were sent thence to Blidah.

Next day, the second train coming from that little town lay at the Col, and on the 6th the supplies were stored at Medeah.

On the 7th the expeditionary column started from Medeah, and encamped at the Olive Grove, being followed there by 2000 horse, but the outlying pickets kept them at a distance, and at nightfall they went towards the valley of Bouroumi. All arrangements were made for the next day's march, and for fighting with a chance of success. Before eleven in the evening the train was on the move towards the Col, guarded by three battalions under General Changarnier; it was handed over to Colonel Bèdeau, and by him conducted to Aouch Mouzaia, while General Changarnier returned to take up a position at the head of the three ridges that overlook the Olive Grove; his right battalion was to go near enough to Bouroumi in the valley, to make sure that we left none of Abdel-Kader's infantry behind us.

At daybreak I saw that the Zouave battalion, under Lieutenant-colonel Cavaignac, had already outflanked the two battalions of regulars upon their left, and that the two other battalions under General Changarnier had got the start of them.

I myself moved with the cavalry, the centre column, and the left column commanded by General Duvivier, when a hurricane, attended by torrents of rain, made the whole ground impracticable in a moment. So, to the great regret of all my troops, I was obliged to relinquish an attack that filled them with hope. We returned to the road over the Col without being followed by the Arabs, and in the evening reached Blidah. I returned the troops to their camp, and went to Algiers. In this expedition we established a moral superiority over the enemy, that I am convinced will last for the whole campaign.

BUGEAUD.

General Ducrot, in 1841 a lieutenant in the 24th of the line, has been good enough to furnish us with a letter that he wrote to his grandfather, a most interesting and exciting account given by an officer of twenty-three, when compared with the official report:

*Algiers, 17 April, 1841.*

Till now, my dear father, I could hardly find time to write



you a few lines to show that I am alive. Now I hope to recompense myself for this compulsory silence, and tell you what we are about here under General Bugeaud's orders. The first thing I heard on landing was that my regiment was to start for Medeah in two days. Paying the customary visits, arranging my canteen, buying a baggage animal, no easy thing as times go, did not leave me a moment's rest. At last, by running about, I managed to find a donkey at the 'square house,' two leagues from Algiers, that I bought for 100 francs, and would be worth thirty in ordinary times. On the 29th we left Algiers, and on the first of April began to ascend the nearest hills of the Atlas. The army was arranged in three columns, the first, called the left column, under General Duvivier, was to go to Medeah by the same road that we used under General Changarnier. The second, called the centre column, under General Changarnier, was to seize the Col, climbing the crests of the Mouzaia. Lastly, the third, under General Bugeaud's immediate orders, was to guard the train, and climb the Col as soon as General Changarnier had seized the positions. Our second battalion, under the Duke d'Aumale, was in the second column. I command the third company of the second battalion.

We expected a serious affair; but the moment we entered the mountains the chiefs of the tribes came to offer their submission, and promised not to fire a shot if we would respect their property. We only had then to overcome the difficulties of the ground, and they certainly were considerable. After marching for ten hours, we held all the positions, and the train entered upon the Col. All this first day the Duke d'Aumale marched at our head, encouraging some, blaming others, and setting an example of cheerfulness to all. The paths were so bad that, though every possible precaution was taken, the Prince's horse, as a soldier was leading it by the bridle, fell over a precipice of more than 600 feet deep. We had no baggage, as you may well suppose; and at a halt the Prince was very glad to eat a bit of ammunition bread, and drink a draught from my gourd. I completed this delicious repast by giving him a cigar, which chanced to be in my pocket. Next day the Prince invited me to share his soup at the bivouac. The meal was as merry and unceremonious as if we were all comrades.

A more amiable and gracious young man than Henri d'Orleans cannot be found. We had much to suffer from the bad weather in this last expedition; his cheerfulness did not vary for a moment. It is quite clear that there is no affectation in it. As lieutenant-colonel he is perfect. Administration, accounts, discipline, he attends to them all, and what will seem extraordinary, like a man who understands them. He is as brave as any Frenchman can be; and desirous of proving to the army and to France, that a

prince can do something more than go on parade. He takes no attendants on an expedition, and lives with our higher officers.

We had little to do in this last campaign, the enemy did not appear in large numbers, and General Bugeaud gave them no time to collect themselves.

On the 3rd of April, as we were returning from Medeah, 1200 to 1500 horsemen seemed disposed to interfere with our rear-guard; General Bugeaud sent off his train under the protection of two battalions, then arranging the rest of his force in several columns, he made us charge the enemy at the double. For some minutes all these cavaliers were driven together into a deep ravine, where they suffered considerably from our firing. After that we went quietly on our way. On the 4th of April, again climbing the Col, this same cavalry attacked us in the rear, while two regular battalions appeared upon the left. The General amused the enemy for a little while with some sharp firing, so as to give time for the Moorish gendarmes and a battalion of the 23rd to move to the left, and catch the enemy in reverse. This movement was very successful, and sixty or eighty regulars were killed with the bayonet, twelve were taken prisoners. The weather became bad on the 7th, and after two days of unceasing rain, we returned to Blidah, and thence to Algiers, where we are at this moment. On Tuesday the 20th, we shall start again for Milianah. We have been told that we are to be out twenty-five days, that is, until the 15th of May. It seems certain that General Bugeaud intends to go into the province of Oran towards the end of May. Part of the division at Algiers must go with him. The grand expedition that is to go to Tackdempt will start from Oran; most likely our regiment will be in it. I am charmed to go and fight in another part of Africa. I begin to know this province of Algiers by heart.

Most likely the papers will comment in all sorts of ways upon General Bugeaud. He has stirred up all the scum of this country against himself; he began by telling them that he saw a lot of dram-sellers in Africa, and very few colonists; he has very loudly expressed his scorn for the first, and his respect for the last. The deputies of the militia came to pay their respects, and said with a good deal of assurance that the militia amounted to 4000 men with arms and equipments, all ready to support the army in defending the territory.

The General took the ball on the hop, and answered them that he had no doubt of their devotion, and to give them a chance to prove it, he has mobilised two battalions of this militia, and set them to protect the Sahel during the absence of the army. The remainder of them do the home duty, and march with drums beating; the least disobedience to orders or discipline is punished with twenty-four hours to a month's imprisonment. Next the

General had need of beasts of burden to carry his provisions. All the colonists had speculated on our needs, and had put up horses and mules to a fabulous price. The General requisitioned them all, even to the Bishop's horses; and the result is, that we have been able to throw more than 400,000 rations into Medeah in a few days. The hire of beasts of burden was well paid for, but that was not our civilians' notion; they meant to have made a hundred times as much.

Just now the General has not been able to introduce many changes into the army, but he has had so much to do that it is no wonder. His activity, energy, and desire to do good, penetrate everywhere. He has shown in the last expedition that he knows how to lead troops, and that something can be done in this country besides escorting convoys. Not a musket can be fired, but he is there in a moment; he cares little about where he sleeps; wherever the enemy appears, he attacks, and pushes to extremity. I really expect that in less than six months the Emir's regular infantry will be destroyed, or become so timid, that it will not dare to attack us. All that I hope is that the regiment will have its fair share of fighting and success. We are in a fair way for it; with a lieutenant-colonel like ours, no one can lag behind.

Adieu, my dear father; I embrace you from my heart.

Your devoted son,

DUCROT.

Several officers were mentioned in general orders as having distinguished themselves: Ducrot among them.

Soon after the Governor-general's return to Algiers, the landing of the Duke de Nemours\* was announced.

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\* Louis, Duke de Nemours, born at Paris the 25th of October, 1814, second son of King Louis-Philippe. Educated at the College Henri IV. In 1826 King Charles X. after the old custom made him Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Chasseurs à cheval. In 1831 he was elected King of the Belgians, but this was declined by his father, as also were proposals from the kingdom of Greece. He was present at the campaigns in Belgium, and the first expedition to Constantine, and also the second, when he commanded the first infantry brigade, and afterwards the siege troops. In 1840 he married Victoire-Auguste-Antoinette, Duchess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, heiress of a part of the great fortune of the Princes de Rohan. When the revolution broke out he returned to Claremont. After the fall of the Empire in 1870 he returned to France with his brothers, and has taken no part in politics.

The first expedition had enabled 400,000 rations to be thrown into Medeah; there was urgent need to provide for Milianah. On the 22nd of April the General-in-chief met the troops at Blidah, but the rains prevented their marching before the 26th. There were two divisions; the first under the Duke de Nemours, just landed, the second under General Baraguey-d'Hilliers.

Between the 27th of April and the 1st of May the army crossed the Col du Gontas, and on the 2nd and 3rd of May came down into the plain of the Chélif; at Aïn Sultan. They were close to Milianah; the garrison composed of the 17th light, thanks to an ingenious plan of the General-in-chief, made a sortie, and in combination with a cavalry manœuvre, succeeded in killing four hundred Arabs, although the success was not complete. A cannon-shot, fired from the fort to announce the sortie, had aroused the Kabyles' attention, and our troops in their eagerness had been a little too hasty.

Next day, on the 4th, at break of day, says General Bugeaud in his report, dated Algiers, 13th May, 1841, I descended into the plain, determined to pursue the numerous cavalry we had observed the evening before, whom we soon saw divided into four bands, each of them covering three or four times as much space as our two regiments of chasseurs. We marched towards them; they retired everywhere, not daring to engage us. Sometimes they collected upon our right at the foot of the mountains, sometimes on our left at the bridge over the Chélif. We instantly changed our direction towards them, but they always retired. With this serpentine course we reached the banks of the Chélif, we crossed it, and encamped upon the left bank.

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I marched on the 5th at three in the morning, going up the left bank of the Chélif, to ravage the territory of some of the powerful tribes of the country. The Arabs were caught unawares by this march; they had not moved off. Abdel-Kader was among

them, a fortunate circumstance that brought on the combat I had fruitlessly sought on the previous evening. The Emir, not being able to desert his hosts without fighting for them, engaged his picked troops, having behind them a number of the horsemen of the country, making up a body of 3000 or 4000 men. Against these I sent my two regiments of chasseurs, the Moorish gendarmes, and sixty French gendarmes, under the gallant Captain Broqueville. H.R.H. the Duke de Nemours supported the movement with three battalions formed in échelon.

The Arabs were attacked first by the gendarmes, then by the first, and lastly by the fourth regiment of chasseurs, completely routed, and pursued at point of sword for an hour and a half; a hundred and thirty-four red horsemen lay on the ground. In this pursuit were captured eight hundred and fifty sheep, four hundred bullocks, nineteen men, and eighty-two women.

Then there was a second and third engagement, thus reported by the General-in-chief:—

I brought back the cavalry with the booty towards the column, when we saw a great body of horse rapidly coming up to the assistance of the population, from the direction of El Kantara (the bridge of the Chélif). Being apprehensive for my cavalry, as they were very tired and disordered by driving the herds, I hastened to fetch three battalions, and rapidly brought them upon the left flank of the enemy. The Duke de Nemours moved his battalions most opportunely, so as to keep touch with mine. Miloud Bel Arrach, with all his cavalry from the west, fearing to be jammed against the foot of some very steep mountains, set off at a gallop, and slipped away by the head of the valley; want of water in that direction prevented pursuit.

I again returned towards our baggage, when all at once there appeared on the other side of the river a third body of 3000 horse under Berkani, the Bey of Medeah. There was a ford between him and me; I crossed it in haste, but Berkani, instead of charging me while I was crossing the ford, fled like a coward.

The special interest of this day, while it began with a brilliant encounter, lies in the fact that three large bodies of cavalry, forming a triangle in the centre of which I was, were put to flight by about a thousand horse, supported by a few battalions of infantry.

No description can give a better notion of these actions in a clearer and more exciting way than the following letter of Commandant Saint-Arnaud, written to his brother :—

*Blidah, 9 May, 1841.*

Here, brother, is a good and glorious campaign ended ! I am safe and sound, with my usual good luck. You left me on the road to Milianah. On the 2nd of May we were there about three o'clock. The enemy appeared in greater force than I have yet seen in Africa ; three regular battalions, more than six thousand Kabyles, and eight thousand horsemen : infantry on the mountains, cavalry in the plain. They all made a furious attack about five in the evening. A plateau was held by a company of Zouaves, and they were attacked by more than eight hundred Kabyles. I was sent there with two companies of my battalion, and I reached the crest just as the Arabs, coming up by the opposite slope, had made the Zouaves give ground, overpowered by their number and their steel. I had to keep my credit with the corps, brother, and I did not fail. As the ground was not fit for a horse, I jumped down from mine, and left him in the middle of the firing, rushing to lead my two companies, sword in hand. We were surrounded with fire on three sides : on the right, the Kabyles, firing from the neighbouring crests, and already climbing on to my plateau ; in front, the Kabyles, so near us that they were throwing stones to make the Zouaves raise their heads, to get shots at them when exposed ; to the left, the horsemen on the plain keeping up an infernal fire. Well, for all that I drove off the Kabyles, and chased them down to the bottom, jumping from rock to rock, and I kept possession of the plateau for my Zouaves.

Unfortunately, this little feat of arms taking place in the corner of the field, was eclipsed by the next day's battle, that of the 3rd. At daybreak we were attacked upon the whole line with great determination. General Bugeaud perfectly understood the situation : he concealed us behind woods and accidents of the ground, then he engaged the skirmishers everywhere, with orders to pretend a retreat after fighting half-an-hour. Then if you had seen that cloud of Kabyles, rushing in pursuit of us with shouts of victory, you would have been afraid. The balls fell like hail. The Arabs were thirty paces from our skirmishers. Suddenly a gun fired from the centre, and repeated from Milianah, changed the aspect of affairs in a moment. All the army advanced in three columns ; the charge was beating and sounding everywhere. We ran, we rushed, ravines, rocks, a river, small, but deeply banked, nothing stopped

us. We sprang over these hills, and the enemy, surprised and terrified, fled in all directions, but fast enough to escape our steel and our fire. It was a butchery, and yet the affair was a failure; a column had started too quickly on the left, and the cavalry had had not charged home. If the General's orders had been well executed, we should have killed two thousand men, and made a thousand prisoners. Instead of that we only killed about five hundred, and made a few insignificant prisoners, but the moral result is immense.

The Arabs are terrified; this immense mass of Kabyles, many of whom came from Tackdempt, disappeared like dust. We afterwards crossed this country, where every step costs blood, almost without a combat. We have been further than any French army; we went down the plain as far as the bridge built over the Chélif, by the Turks under the direction of the Spaniards. We returned by inaccessible mountains, where a hundred Kabyles in ambush might have decimated us; we did not meet a hundred musket shots. We only had a rather good affair on the 5th with three bodies of cavalry upon the Chélif; we took the cattle, and burnt everything that came in our way.

To sum up, the campaign, in which this army has not had eighty casualties, is remarkable. General Bugeaud is exactly in the right place; he has shown himself to be an experienced and able general. We can see and understand his military ideas. He fights when he chooses, he pursues the enemy, disturbs him, and makes himself feared. His devouring activity pleases the soldiers; they are well fed, and not too much tired, so they sing praises of their chief. He is always most kind to me. On the 3rd I fought like anybody else, and killed like anybody else, and the General says he will give me the cross.

I am going with my battalion to be in the grand expedition to Oran. The first battalion stays to operate upon Medeah, Tazza, and Boghar, and Colonel Cavaignac and I follow the Governor to Oran. How fast we live, my brother! I have been at Blidah since noon; to-morrow at five we start for Algiers, and shall be there this evening, twelve leagues off. On the 12th we go on board a steamer, the 14th we are at Oran, and the 17th we go to Mascara. We shall stay till the end of June fighting in the province of Oran, and wrecking all the Emir's towns and property there. He will find the French army everywhere carrying firebrands.

I hope that I shall be a complete African after this campaign, for from east to west I shall know all our possessions in Africa.

SAINT-ARNAUD.

There is also a letter of Lieutenant Ducrot refer-

ring to the same expedition. He says, 'Decidedly General Bugeaud is the man for this place. He manages to do thrice as much work as M. Valée in the same time, he tires his men much less, does much more harm to the enemy, and has hardly any wounded. . . . In this affair the Duke de Nemours has shown that he is not afraid to expose his person. At one time he and his staff were surrounded by Kabyles. I shot one almost close to him, and cut down another almost as close.'

This was the set of engagements before Milianah that Bugeaud, when Marshal, was proud to talk of, comparing the tactics to those of the battle of Isly.

The General in command mentions several of his officers in general orders, as he did after the victualing of Medeah, many of whom became the heroes of Africa, the Crimea, and Italy. Captain Vergé, General Changarnier, Colonel Gentil, Lieutenant-colonel the Duke d'Aumale, Lieutenant Ducrot, who killed two Arabs, Captain d'Adelsward, aide-de-camp to General Baraguey-d'Hilliers, who also killed two Arabs, Colonel d'Arbouville, Lieutenant-colonel Cavaignac, Commandants Leflô and Saint-Arnaud,\*

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\* Saint-Arnaud, Jacques Leroy de, Marshal of France, born at Paris in 1798, died in 1854, was the son of an old Parliamentary Counsel, who was afterwards Member of the Tribunal and Prefect of the Aude. After being educated at the Lycée Napoléon, he joined the body-guard in 1816, passed as Sub-Lieutenant successively into the district legion of Corsica, and that of the Bouches du Rhone, and the 49th of the line; he retired from active service in 1822 to fight as a volunteer in the cause of Greece, travelled abroad for some years, and in 1831 resumed his rank as officer in the 64th of the line. When a Lieutenant he was employed in the war in La Vendée, was General Bugeaud's orderly officer, and attended him at Blaye. In 1836 he was sent to Africa in the foreign legion, made Captain there in 1837, and took a heroic part in the capture of Constantine. After the taking of Djijilly his fine conduct secured a mention in general orders of the army. Next year he became Chef-de-bataillon in the 18th light, 1840, in the Zouaves in 1841, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 53rd of the line in 1842, Colonel of the



Colonel Horte, Lieutenant-colonel Tartas, Lieutenant Valabrègue, Captain Allonville, Cavalry-sergeant Marguerite.

The day after the battle of Milianah, the Arabs took the offensive quite close to Algiers with an attack on Coleah, quite in the rear of the expeditionary corps, desirous no doubt of showing that they were not intimidated by the victualling of Medeah.

Sidi-Mohammed Ben Allal Embarek, Bey of Milianah, dashed himself fruitlessly against the ener-

32nd and afterwards of the 54th in 1844. His promotion was won by bravery displayed at the assault on Constantine, the attack on the Col de Mouzaia, and the taking of Mascara. After being in command of the subdivisions of Milianah and Orleansville, he put down the insurrection of Dahra in 1845-7, compelled Bou-Maza to give himself up, and was rewarded with the rank of *Maréchal-le-camp* 1847. He commanded the subdivision of Mostaganem after the revolution in February, 1848, that of Algiers in 1849, he led a brilliant expedition in the Kabyle territory of Bougie, and was raised in 1850 to the chief command of the division of Constantine. In 1851 he subdued little Kabylia.

Being mentioned to the Prince-President, General de Saint-Arnaud was placed at the head of the second division of the army of Paris, and soon made War Minister. He arranged the military measures required to make the *coup d'État* of the 2nd of December safe, and, on the re-establishment of the Empire in 1852, received the bâton of Marshal of France, and the title of Grand Equerry to the Emperor. His administration was marked by several improvements in the service: the reconstitution of the general staff of the army; re-establishment of the reserve section for general officers and the commissariat; increase of pay for non-commissioned officers of all arms; improvement of the soldiers' bread; reorganization of the gendarmerie and artillery, of the sanitary corps of the local army, and the cavalry school of Saumur; the creation of a cavalry section at the Imperial military school of Saint-Cyr; raising of the Regiment of Guides, and two new Zouave regiments, ten new battalions of Chasseurs-à-pied, and one regiment of Algerian light infantry.

When the war with Russia broke out in 1854, Saint-Arnaud became Commander-in-chief of the Army in the East. In concert with Lord Raglan, he made a successful landing in the Crimea, won the battle of the Alma, and, just as Sebastopol was attacked, died of the sickness that had long been wearing him out. His struggle with pain and death was worthy of antiquity. His body was buried at the Invalides, and his bust in bronze has been placed in the court of the Lycée Napoléon. Marshal Saint-Arnaud was an active, indefatigable, and most brave officer, with prudence and resolution, a clever tactician, an able administrator. He has left some letters (Paris, 1855), charmingly natural and spirited, and very precious in their particulars of the conquest of Algeria.

Though the enemies of the Imperial rule have tried to heap abuse and calumnies on the head of Marshal Saint-Arnaud, the man, in spite of his prodigality and carelessness in money matters, nevertheless remained one of the most brilliant and most original personages of his time. His heroic and Christian death would redeem many faults.

getic commandant Poerio. But, turning off towards Staouëli, he carried off the government cattle, and killed no less than forty of our men with their leader, Captain Muller, of the Foreign Legion.

Less than twenty days afterwards, on the 19th of May, at an interview with Mgr. Dupuch, Bishop of Algiers, the same Mahometan personage released a hundred and twenty-eight Christian prisoners, among them Assistant-commissary Massot, captured with his family near Douera, at the gates of Algiers, under Marshal Valée.

Although the negotiations had been commenced by the venerable Bishop before Marshal Valée's departure, it is allowable to believe that the vigour of General Bugeaud's first attacks prompted this act of mercy done in the name of Abdel-Kader, by his own brother, just after the attack on Coleah and Staouëli.

## CHAPTER II.

### TACKDEMT AND SAÏDA (1841).

**Mostaganem—March to Tackdempt—Report—Zouaves and Arab Cavalry—Mascara—Letter from the Sheiks—Letter from Saint-Arnaud—Destruction of Boghar and Thaza by Baraguey-d'Hilliers—Advice to Soldiers—Another Expedition to Mascara—Léon Roches sent to Mecca—General Daumas in Charge of Arab Affairs—Arrival of the Governor's Family—Victualling Medeah and Millianah—Expedition to Saïda—Destruction of Sidi Mahiddin's Ghetna—Capture of Saïda—Failure of the 'Soldier-Labourer'—Letter to M. Gardère—Summary of the Year.**

THE day after the Governor-general despatched his important report of the campaign on the Chélif to Paris, he left General Baraguey-d'Hilliers in command of the province of Algiers, and himself embarked for the west.

On landing at Mostaganem, the 15th of May, he met the troops that Lamoricière was bringing him from Oran. On the 18th began the campaign of Tackdempt, in a fortnight the army returned to Mostaganem, its starting-point. General Bugeaud made his report of this short campaign to the War-Minister in the following terms:—

SIR,—I started on the 18th from Mostaganem, as I had the honour to inform you.

The artillery and engineer waggons were loaded with ammunition, tools, and other material for the expected siege of Tackdempt.

The means of transport at my disposal were used for the equipment of this service and the ambulances. I added everything that my resources would allow; every soldier carried eight days' provisions, and the cavalry horses were each loaded with a sack of rice sixty kilogrammes in weight.

My cavalry, by their devotedness, rendered an important service to the army. Horsemen carried their sacks all the way to Mascara,

being alternately troopers of the baggage train and cavalry soldiers when there was fighting to be done.

After several small combats of the rear-guard and flankers, we reached Tackdempt on the 25th of May, and took possession of it during a very sharp engagement between the Zouaves and the enemy's cavalry upon the neighbouring heights. This combat reflected great honour upon the Zouaves, who are a really choice corps.\*

The town and the fort had been evacuated by the inhabitants, and they had carried everything off; some thatched houses were burning, set on fire by the Arabs themselves. Those of masonry, roofed with tiles, were intact, as also the arms manufactory, a saw-mill, and stores. The army immediately proceeded to the work of destruction, and the engineers to blow up the fort. Next day by eight in the morning, we were on the road for Mascara; and Abdel-Kader, on the neighbouring heights, was watching the blowing up of the citadel that had cost him so much trouble and money to build, where he had placed his principal magazines of arms and military stores of all kinds.

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\* An order of the 1st of October, 1830, approved by a Royal ordinance of the 21st of March, 1831, created two battalions that received the name of Zouaves, in Arabic *Zouaoua*. The Zouaoua are a tribe, or rather a confederation of Kabyle tribes, living in the most remote gorges of the Djurjura, a race of men brave, intrepid, and laborious, whose submission to the Turks was never anything but nominal; they were, however, well known in Algiers, being continually brought there by the necessity of exchanging their oil, and the produce of their rough industry, for the goods that were not to be found on their barren hills. As they were reputed to be the best foot-soldiers of the regency, and, in certain circumstances, had engaged their military services for hire to barbarous princes, their name was given to the new militia. Its ranks, however, received all natives without distinction of origin, mountaineers or men of the plain, town artisans or Kabyle labourers, Arabs or Couloughis; but they wanted leaders. French officers and non-commissioned officers were sent to drill and command them. They were volunteers, such as will always be found in the army, some disgusted (*rompus*) with infantry service like Levallant, others just enlisted like Vergé, old Philhellenes like Molière, who died a general on his return from the siege of Rome, officers of special arms like Lamoricière; all men full of youth and energy, disinterested, brave, not attracted by the bait of larger pay, nor the hope of pleasant garrisons, who cheerfully entered upon a life of continual privation, severe labour, and constant risk, without being deterred by the uncertainty of reward.

The Royal ordinance of the 7th of March, 1833, fixes the number of companies of Zouaves at ten, eight French and two native. There were to be twelve French soldiers in each native company. The command of the Zouaves, with the rank of chef-de-bataillon, was given to Captain de Lamoricière, who had joined the corps on its formation, had several times been distinguished for his bravery and military qualities, and, having been lately engaged in organizing the first Arab office (Bureau Arabe), had, in that difficult work, shown that he already possessed a very complete knowledge of the language and habits of the natives, a quick mind, a great deal of boldness and prudence, great ingenuity and loyalty, with indefatigable arduousness.—*The Zouaves and Chasseurs-à-pied*, by H.R.H. the Duke d'Anmale.

As I expected that, the moment we had retired, the Arab horsemen would not fail to come and examine the destruction we had accomplished, I placed the Zouaves in ambuscade behind the rubbish of the fort, and a battalion of the 41st of the line among the ruined houses in the town. The column had hardly gone a cannon-shot when 700 to 800 Arab horsemen crowded into the streets and squares. The battalion of the 41st of the line rushed out of their hiding-place and fired upon them, bringing fifteen to the ground, and killing two horses. The Zouaves had no chance.

The same day and the following days, as far as Mascara, Abdel-Kader kept two large masses of cavalry continually on our flanks, while some thousand horsemen kept firing upon our rear-guard. The principal forces remained at a distance, and in such a position that it was impossible to bring them to an engagement against their will.

At Fortassa the enemy collected all his forces upon some hills we had to cross. This spot was celebrated in the history of the Arabs, because eighty years ago they had here defeated the Bey Bou-Cabous. I thought that they had chosen this spot to fight a battle with me, so I massed my train, caused the cavalry to put down their sacks, and, with hardly any delay in our march, we advanced rapidly upon the enemy, charmed with the chance of at last getting a success that might be decisive of something. Our hopes were again frustrated. As soon as our battalions echeloned to the two wings, and covering the cavalry, had come within gun-shot, the enemy retired at a gallop, and took up a position on some high hills about two leagues distant. I would not pursue them, so as to avoid fatiguing the troops to no purpose, and I returned to encamp at the place where I had left the train guarded by four battalions. There was water there, and forage and wood.

On the 30th we found Abdel-Kader again upon the heights around Mascara. He was reinforced by 400 horse brought him by Bou-Hamedi, Kalipha of Tlemcen. Everything showed that he intended to defend the approach to the town. We employed the same tactics as at Fortassa, and with not much better result. However, they waited for us to get a little nearer, and our skirmishers and shells killed some men and horses. We then took possession of Mascara, and I was agreeably surprised when I found they had confined themselves to breaking the doors and the wooden furniture.

A great number of houses have long been in ruins. But, as the city is very large, for it formerly contained 20,000 to 25,000 inhabitants, it was not at all difficult for us to find places for the hospital, magazines, and lodging for the garrison. I have reason to hope that in a short time these establishments will be very convenient. It would even be possible, with some work, to lodge 6000 or 7000 men, and it would be very advantageous to keep them there; the difficulty only lies in feeding them.

At this moment the garrison is made up of two battalions of the 15th light, one battalion of the 41st of the line, and three companies of engineers, under Colonel Tempoure; and they lost not a moment in setting to work to establish themselves. Two half-batteries of reserve field artillery were left in the town with gunners enough to serve the pieces.

All the stores left in the train, except those given out to the column for their return to Mostaganem, were taken into the town, and made about fifty days' provisions for the garrison.

We stayed at Mascara the 31st of May, and on the 1st of June took the shortest road to Mostaganem, namely, the one through the defile of Akbel-Kredda. We hoped that it would be possible to pierce this little chain of mountains, three leagues in depth, by a carriage-road, as that would have greatly simplified the victualling of Mascara, but this seductive hope was completely disappointed. It is the most horribly broken ground I have yet encountered in Africa.

You may form an idea of it, sir, when you hear that the rear-guard of the column, having been attacked by 5000 or 6000 Arabs, it was impossible for me to give it any flanking support, anxious as the troops and I were to do so; and as its way was along a very narrow ridge, it was completely useless to give any direct assistance. It had to meet the attack unassisted, and did so with a courage worthy of the greatest praise. General Levasseur was in command. It was composed of two battalions of the 6th and 13th Light, and one battalion of the 41st of the Line, supported by a section of mountain artillery, and some wall pieces.

The enemy had only to repent of having engaged in this combat, for they lost at least 400 men, of whom two were chiefs, and a number of horses. Our loss was ten men killed, one an officer—Sub-Lieut. Rachan, of the 6th Light—and 54 wounded taken into the ambulance. Perhaps we should have lost fewer men if our battalions had not made such a stubborn resistance that, seeing my orders for a rapid retreat were not being put in execution, I was obliged to go myself to withdraw them from the fight, and take them to a less difficult spot, where I was resolved to make an offensive reprisal if the enemy had then engaged himself, but he did not do so. They retired in silence to carry off their killed and wounded. We carried off ours, and left not a single man in their hands, living or dead, nor a single vestige that might enable them to boast of a victory. It is curious that they did not even follow us next day, though we rested two leagues from the field of battle.

On the 3rd of June we reached Mostaganem, without seeing another enemy.

Our loss in the whole campaign was only 20 men killed, and 85 wounded.

Our left column, in an offensive reprisal before we reached Tackdempt, made 7 prisoners.

The sanitary condition is good ; we have brought back but few sick. The number of these, and the wounded in the ambulance, reached 208 on our return, five being officers.

Our cavalry and all our transport animals found forage in abundance everywhere, furnished by the still standing crops of wheat and barley.

We are making most active preparations for another campaign about the 7th or 8th. I cannot here tell you all the means I can find to carry the greatest possible quantity of provisions to Mascara, hospital stores, tools, reaping-hooks, &c.

I have great reason, sir, to praise my troops, in this long and difficult expedition.

Then follows mention of several officers who distinguished themselves.

While the walls of the fortress and arsenal of Tackdempt were crumbling to the ground, Abdel-Kader surveyed the work of destruction from the neighbouring hill ; he had made up his mind to it beforehand. But the French army had to fight every step, and keep on guard day and night, without peace or truce, before they became possessed of the Arabs' land.

On the 3rd of June the army reached Mostaganem, and the Duke de Nemours took ship there, and returned to France. General Bugeaud had returned thither to fetch the stores required by the garrison of Mascara. A large train reached Mascara on the 10th of June with the army. And then the wise Governor thought that, instead of burning the harvests of the fruitful plain of Ehgris, it would be more logical and easier to reap them, and so victual the place, and increase its store. For more than a fortnight our soldiers, with the reaping-hook in one hand and the musket in the other, scoured the most accessible parts of the territory of the Hachem Ehgres.

Colonel Tempoure being ill, was relieved by Colonel Gery at Mascara, and the army returned to Mostaganem by the 27th.

After some sharp engagements with the tribe of Metdjar, on whose territory Mostaganem is built, the General returned to Algiers, but for only a short time. In fact, he was recalled to Mascara by the submission of this tribe and some others; and he installed a phantom of a bey at Mascara, Mustapha Ouled Othman, whose father had been bey of Oran, under the Turks.

This was the first campaign in the province of Oran; but that province was only the half of the Emir's kingdom.

Marshal Saint-Arnaud in his letters says, We saw clearly that the Emir would not risk a battle. He saved his regulars, to keep the tribes up. General Bugeaud pursues his purpose with most able and praiseworthy perseverance. He is an admirable man. He is not known, nor justice done him. I follow him, and examine him dispassionately, and every day discover fresh qualities in him. Frank and loyal to excess, he sometimes becomes rough. With incredible activity he descends to minutiae. A farmer for fifteen years, living in continual contact with a low class of society, he has not quite the dignity or bearing desirable. But what conscience, what rectitude, what delicacy of feeling, what complete self-denial! And he is surrounded with difficulties! Little cliques raise up trouble for him; the press kills him with pin-pricks. I should like to be in France and shout this from the house-tops.

\* \* \* \* \*

Abdel-Kader had collected all the resources of the province of Titerly at Boghar and Thaza. General Bugeaud, having announced his intention of destroying these fortresses, reputed impregnable, the astonishment of the natives was immense. This very curious letter was addressed to the Governor-general at Algiers by their principal sheiks:—

What is this spirit that impels France, calling itself such a power-



ful and strong nation, to come and make war upon us? Has she not territory enough? What loss will the land she takes be to us in comparison with what is left us? She will march forward, and we shall retire; but she will be compelled to retire, and we shall return.

And you, Governor of Algiers, what harm can you do us? In fighting you lose as many men as we do. Sickness decimates your army every year. What compensation can you offer your king, and your country, for your immense losses in men and money? A little land and the stones of Mascara! You burn, you waste our harvests, you cut our barley and wheat, and rob our silos. But what is the plain of Ehgris, and you have not wasted a twentieth part of it, when we have the harvest left in (here follow thirty names of places), and besides that, the harvest of Morocco itself? The mischief you think you have done us is like a cup of water drawn from the sea. We shall fight when we think fit: you know we are not cowards. For us to meet all the forces you drag along with you would be madness; but we shall weary them and harass them, and destroy them in detail; our climate will do the rest. Send man against man, ten against ten, a hundred against a hundred, a thousand against a thousand, and you will see if we recoil. Do you see the wave rise when a bird brushes it with its wing? This is the image of your passing over Africa.

Meanwhile General Baraguey-d'Hilliers \* was finishing his operations, thus summed up in the *Moniteur Algérien*, of June 8: 'The expeditionary division started from Blidah on the 18th of May, provisioned Medeah on the 19th, left that town on the 21st,

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\* General Baraguey-d'Hilliers, Achille, was born at Paris in 1795. Enlisted as a soldier, while yet a youth, he lost his left hand at the battle of Leipzig. After the fall of the Empire, he became an enthusiastic adherent of the house of Bourbon, and was one of the King's guards. He was made colonel after the taking of Algiers. In 1832 King Louis-Philippe made him second in command of the school at Saint-Cyr, afterwards of the Polytechnic. In 1840 he was sent to Algiers, and had the Duke d'Aumale under his orders. Lieutenant-general in 1843, in command of Constantine, he was placed on the unemployed list next year in consequence of some failures.

Being elected in 1848 as representative by the department of Doubs, General Baraguey-d'Hilliers always sat on the Right, and, after the 2nd of December, joined Prince Napoleon. He commanded a force sent to the Baltic, and took Bomarsund. Then took an active and distinguished part in the campaign in Italy, where he won the battle of Melegnano. During all the war of 1870, Marshal Baraguey-d'Hilliers lived in retirement, and refused, in 1873, to be president of the court-martial on Marshal Bazaine. Marshal Baraguey-d'Hilliers had a quick mind, and grand military qualities, but an obstinate and difficult disposition.

destroyed Boghar on the 23rd, Thaza on the 25th, left provisions at Milianah on the 29th, again touched at Medeah on the 31st, and returned to Blidah by the 2nd of June.

‘No enemy made any serious resistance, and the force returned with a very small number of wounded.

‘H.R.H. the Duke d’Aumale, who shared in all its fatigues and privations, never ceased to encourage the troops by his example.’

The Commander-in-Chief published a general order commending the conduct of this expedition.

It may here be interesting to give the distinction between the two names that have often occurred—Arabs and Kabyles. The Arab is a nomad. He transports his tent over the plains like the Bible patriarchs. The Kabyle lives assembled in villages, generally in the mountainous regions.

The first came as conquerors from Asia; the second descends from the aborigines. He speaks a peculiar dialect, bearing traces of an origin previous to the Mahometan conquest. As, for instance, his calendar preserves the Roman names of the months.

The Arab fights on horseback, the Kabyle on foot. The Arab is generally polygamous, the Kabyle not. With both one and the other the notables of the tribe meet in a council, *djemâa*, to regulate the affairs of the community. The head of the Arab tribe is called *sheik*; of the Kabyle village, *amin*; he is a sort of *maire*.

The Arab changes the position of his cultivation and pasturage nearly every year; the Kabyle is almost as stationary in his territory as the French villager; he also cultivates his vines and his fruit

trees, which the Arab cannot do. He has often been called the Auvergnat of Africa.

There are Kabyles on all the mountains of Barbary, but the largest group is at the foot of Djurjura. Not subdued by the Turks, and perhaps not by the Romans, they enjoyed complete independence even till 1857.

Marshal Randon's expedition placed them under our control. We have respected their organization, and never had more submissive Mahometan subjects.

General Baraguey-d'Hilliers, in his report of the 4th of June, says that this campaign, with only a few wounded, and not one killed, had escaped its first element—fighting. The result was curious. This was one of the most fruitful of the list of our African campaigns. After the excursion to Boghar and Thaza, all that district, the region of the upper Chélif, was pacified. Except the mountains of Milianah and Cherschell, all the province of Titer, of which Medeah was the ancient capital, was almost finally lost to Abdel-Kader, and he was thrust back towards the west, upon the Ouarensenis, the Dahra, and the province of Oran.

Bugeaud, faithful to the system he had preached from the tribune, consisting in perpetual harassment of the enemy, and wasting of his territory, immediately after the expeditions to Medeah, Milianah, Tackdempt, Boghar, and Thaza, arranged two others in succession to Mascara. And as the army had been obliged to go through Mascara on the way to Tackdempt, there had in consequence been three visits paid to Mascara.

The Oran division started from Mostaganem for

Mascara on the 7th of June, and returned to Mostaganem on the 27th, after overrunning and ravaging the territory of the Hachem, one of the most powerful among the tribes that supported Abdel-Kader.

At that season the harvest was ripe; the army held the sword in one hand, the reaping-hook in the other. It may be remembered that Deputy Bugeaud had told the Chamber that he would burn the harvest, and shocked them by the barbarity of the proceeding. When he was there he found it more useful to have it cut to feed his troops, and the damage inflicted on the enemy was just as great.\*

In a week two thousand five hundred quintal measures of corn, and almost as much straw were stored at Mascara (about 1200 quarters).

On the 30th of June the General-in-command addressed the following general order to the troops, when the great professor of war speaks to his soldiers in a simple and friendly way:—

\* In the summer campaign of 1841, M. Lapasset, attached to the General's staff, tells us that round Mascara there was no barley for the horses of the column, and besides there was the fort of Mascara, that they intended to hold, to be supplied with store of all sorts of grain. In order to economise transport and expense, and take advantage of the resources offered by the enemy's country, the General-in-command organized his battalions as reapers and threshers. Every day armed fatigue parties went to cut corn, while others threshed what had been brought in the day before. The General's great delight was in giving farming lessons to the men as well as to the officers. If he saw a threshing-floor where the work was slack, he would come up and call out, 'I am sure that all of you here are learned men. What is your profession?' he asked one of the threshers. 'I am a tailor, General.' 'There are but too many people to make the ugly, scanty clothes that are fashionable now; thresh away, my child, it will be much more use to the country, and to you.'

'And what are you?' 'I, General, am a scholar.' 'Scholar to learn nothing, of course; handle the flail, my friend. And you!' And thus he would review all the idlers, supported in his lesson by the laughter of the workers. 'Come along, let us see. Begin to thresh. Oh! but that is not it; you do not understand it at all. Give me a flail. Here you begin like that; piano, tu—tu—pan—pan—tu—tu—pan—pan. And you go on faster and faster gradually, pan, pan, tu, tu, pan, pan, tu, tu.' And he added example to talk, and, when he had set them well at work on one threshing-floor, he would go to another, and give some more lessons.—*Le Pétigord*.

## ORDER OF THE DAY.

*Mostaganem, 30 June, 1841.*

Before I leave you, perhaps for some months, I wish to tell you, if I can, how happy and proud I am, as chief and citizen, of the war-like virtues you have displayed in this campaign.

The combat of Akbet-Kredda was worthy of you.

You have shown once more that the French are as fit as any people there are, to retreat quietly under difficulties. If I should venture to address a reproach to you concerning this fine feat of arms, I might tell you that you were too pertinacious in fighting (*tenants au combat*). When we do not choose, when we cannot fight, we must engage ourselves as little as possible, and retire slowly, one échelon after another, from one cover to another, losing few men, and causing loss to the enemy. The object is to avoid the enemy's attempts. All that interferes with this object is unseasonable, and bad play, however much courage is displayed.

I wish also to praise you for the zeal and activity you displayed in the harvest work. Your eagerness showed plainly that you, like your general, understood that this was proper work for you, for it was war itself. The permanent and valid occupation of Mascara depends on the work you have done, and will do again. If 4000 to 5000 quintals of wheat and 6000 quintals of straw are taken into the fort, you may be well assured it will do more to subdue the country than winning ten battles, and then going back to the coast. I shall follow you in these new works. I shall know what you have done; and you may be sure that France and the King will be as grateful to you as I am.

Though Bugeaud announced his departure to the troops, he did not leave Mostaganem immediately. On the 7th of July he published another general order to his little army, that shows how great was his care for the soldier :—

It often occurs (says the General-in-chief) that men are killed by the imprudence of the soldiers, or of the commanders of the post, either walking to a distance alone and unarmed, or going to carry food to their comrades on duty. It is time to put an end to this culpable neglect, that might cause the loss in detail of the advantages that we had obtained. I most particularly desire all commanders of posts not to permit solitary men on any pretext to leave the protection of the posts and camps. Small posts must never send

a detachment to fetch food ; it must be taken to them with sufficient force to be secure from attack.

The cattle guards will take their rations with them, and cook their soup a-field.

All possible steps will also be taken to prevent civilians from travelling, or going to work alone and unarmed beyond the protection of the posts.

A list will be kept of those who allow themselves to be captured by the enemy through a breach of these rules, or who allow themselves to be carried off without making any defence, as has sometimes happened ; and when circumstances favour an exchange of prisoners they will not be included.

On the 2nd of July, Lamoricière went again to Mascara and came back in thirteen days. This triple expedition to Mascara answered well to the system Bugeaud had explained from the tribune for the subjugation of Africa, the occupation of one fort on the coast, and a corresponding one inland, and a column moving between the two, preventing the Arabs from getting in their harvests, in a word impeding what Deputy Bugeaud called their agricultural interest.

He also had said that the most active army possible was wanted to fight the Arabs, and therefore had not used the artillery or waggons at the Sickack, to the great surprise of his comrades in arms. This was still further carried out by Lamoricière, and is described by one of his aides-de-camp, the Marquis de la Guiche :—

The Arabs had one final advantage over us, they carried no food with them. Lamoricière answered those who asked how we could live without carrying victuals, 'The Arabs do it very well, we will do the same.' The Arabs managed to dispense with carrying victuals because they found corn in their silos, subterranean granaries, knowing the spots. So we had another difficulty to conquer, to find the Arabs' silos. Lamoricière started with a column that carried only four days' victuals, and kept a-field for twenty days. He only had some of the little hand-mills used by the Arabs added to the equipment. Our men baked their own cakes when

they had found the corn. To find the silos, a chain of soldiers was formed one or two leagues in length who went forward probing the ground with their ramrods, or the points of their swords, until they met with the stone that covered the mouth of the silo level with the ground. Then every man setting to work with his hand-mill, ground the corn to flour, and the cake was very soon kneaded. The silos furnished the corn, the razzias found the meat, and so provisions were not wanted. The men no doubt did not live so well, but they marched faster, and comforted themselves for their bad meals by beating the Arabs.

It was at this time, in the month of July, 1841, that General Bugeaud employed his interpreter on a secret mission to Mecca, so as to obtain a sanction to the permanent submission of the tribes he had just conquered. M. Roches's ability, adventurous character, and perfect acquaintance with the Arabic language and religion, naturally suggested him to the Governor-general. This delicate and dangerous mission was completely successful. The object was to obtain from the grand medjlis, or council of the ulemas, a kind of papal brief, or religious firman (*fetva*), explaining to the faithful certain points of doctrine and practice. The *fetva* that M. Roches brought back from Mecca, after a perfect Odyssey of travel, amounted to this: 'The Mahometan may tolerate a truce when the infidel invader leaves to the Mahometan his wives, his children, his faith, and the practice of his religion.' This was a very important step towards the pacification of Algeria. General Lamoricière, who was face to face with some fanatical tribes, wrote to General Bugeaud to congratulate him on the excellent effects of this religious decision. After the publication of the *fetva*, the Arabs, in a kind of friendly adoption, never recognised the Governor-general's interpreter by any other name than that of El Hadj Omar ; Hadj, pilgrim, being the title given

to any man who has been on pilgrimage to Mecca, and visited the Prophet's tomb. According to their notions the French had all along been mistaken in supposing El Hadj Omar to be a Frenchman. The man, they said, is evidently an Arab ; he is a Mahometan of the purest blood, chief of a great tent, and, better than that, a respected marabout. M. Roches has told us that he had a French servant, and when he spoke to him in our language so that the Arabs should not understand, they fully believed that the speech was Turkish. On his own side M. Roches did not wish to contradict this reputation ; it is easy to see what a valuable instrument such an interpreter would be for the Governor-general. And so we find Léon Roches always by the Marshal's side, and rendering him most important services in this secondary situation. After his interpreter's return from Mecca, the Governor-general had a seal engraved with this inscription in Arabic, 'The earth is the Lord's, and he gives it in heritage to those whom he has chosen,' a short sentence taken from the Koran, and well calculated to make an impression on the Arabs. All General Bugeaud's proclamations to the tribes, and all his letters to Arab chiefs, were countersigned with this seal.

General Bugeaud had left his family in France and gone to Algiers alone when he received the appointment of Governor-general. We find the following letter among his correspondence, written soon after his installation to his youngest daughter, whom he had left ill in France :—

How sorry I am, my good Léonie, that you have been ill again. All the turns of your sickness have been running in my head. I see you in bed, I hear your fits of coughing, I see your cheeks flushed



with fever, I feel your pulse, I read your condition in your doctors' eyes, and thank them for having cured you. And your good mother, I see her too at your bedside, anxious and attentive. But let us forget this, and only think of your recovery. I hope that this letter will find you well, and that you will go to the watering-place at the end of May, and come and see your dear father in September, as he wants you to reward him for his fatigues.

You will have a pretty town house and a charming country house. You will also have a theatre, a piano, as much military music as you like, and a bishop for confessor! There is also good society to be picked out. I have looked to it for you and Charles. As for your father, he wants none but yours.

Write to me, dear Ninie, and kiss Marie for me.

General Bugeaud's young family did not join him at Algiers until the 6th of September. But the Governor, after resting more than a month, was proposing to set out upon an autumn campaign longer than the previous ones.

While the Governor remained at Algiers, not more than five weeks, he visited Blidah and the continuous line, the contrivance of such doubtful efficacy invented by General Rogniat, before mentioned, a kind of wall of China that the Arabs crossed without scruple or difficulty.

Being convinced of the importance of having the administration of the subject Arabs under his hand, the Governor-general re-established in August the office for the management of Arab business,\* and placed it under the management of Chef d'Escadron Daumas, who was, as is well known, one of his most valued assistants with the pen as well as with the sword.†

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\* The office for the management of Arab business, established on the 25th of April by Governor-general Damrémont, was wrongly placed by Marshal Valée among the duties of the general staff.

† Daumas, Joseph-Eugène, born the 4th of September, 1803, joined the army as a volunteer, 1822. He was sent to Saumur in 1827; in 1835 he sailed for Algeria, and was in the campaigns of Mascara and Tlemcen under Marshal Clauzel. His

The Governor-general started on his campaign the moment he had established Madame Bugeaud and his children in the Governor's palace. On September the 18th he was at Mostaganem, having visited Cherchell on the way, the only place in the colony he did not know, and immediately started on the long campaign that terminated in the capture of Saïda.

Lamoricière provisioned Mascara on the 22nd and 23rd of September, while the Governor-general, operating on the Mina, a tributary of the Chélif, made a razzia in view of Abdel-Kader himself, capturing 2200 head of cattle and 3700 sheep. This was the combat of Sidi Yahia, costing the enemy a loss of a great number of horses and mules, besides two hundred men killed, and three hundred and twenty-four prisoners.

The Emir had established the fortress of Saïda on a little ridge of hills on the skirt of the chain of Ehgris, eighteen leagues south of Mascara.

General Bugeaud was in pursuit of the Emir, while Generals Lamoricière and Levasseur again visited Mascara with a large provision train. They

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eagerness in studying the Arabic language speedily brought him into notice, and he very soon occupied a peculiar position in the army, owing to his special knowledge of Algerian manners. During the peace he was attached to Abdel-Kader at Mascara, from 1837 to 1839. By General Lamoricière's orders he had the regulation of Arab business in the Province of Oran, and by General Bugeaud's arrival in 1841 he had concentrated all the native business. He was one of the most useful organizers of the 'bureaux Arabes.'

When the Emir was captured by the Duke d'Aumale in 1847, he accompanied Abdel-Kader to France to Fort Lamalgue, and assisted in alleviating the first period of his captivity. Returning to Africa in 1849, he was engaged in an expedition to Kabylia. In 1850 he was appointed director of Algerian affairs at the War Ministry. Senator in 1857, General Daumas was a Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. He died in 1871 in the department of the Gironde. He has left some very valuable works on Africa; no one knew it better than he did. Mention may be made of *Le Sahara Algérien*, *Mœurs et Coutumes de l'Algérie*, *Les Chaux du Sahara*, *La Kabylie*, *La Vie Arabe et la Société Musulmane*.

united on the night of the 6th of October, and there was a rather brisk encounter with the enemy. A few days afterwards, on the 16th of October, the army proceeded to destroy the Guetna of Sidi-Mahieddin, where stood the Emir's paternal house. This Guetna was a kind of convent, seminary, college, and place for the study of prayers, the Emir having been brought up there. The very evening before, Saïd, the Emir's elder brother, had been on the spot. About thirty houses and several ricks of straw were burnt, and the corn carefully carried to Mascara.

Two days afterwards an advance was made upon Saïda, a little fortress built by Abdel-Kader upon the ruins of a Roman town. It was composed of an enceinte with towers, and backed by scarped rocks.

It had been evacuated and burnt by the enemy like Tackdempt, and everything portable carried off on a thousand camels, even to some cannon in very good condition.

After some little fighting among the hills, the Governor-general returned to Mostaganem on the 5th of November, and Algiers on the 10th, leaving Lamoricière at Mascara, Bedeau at Mostaganem, and Tempoure at Oran.

He then issued a circular offering land to any soldiers, who had served their time, if they chose to settle in Algeria, as a first step to the military colonisation he so much desired; and on the occasion of a review of eight hundred men taking their discharge he harangued them on the advantages offered. The officers then asked each man separately, but without much success, as only sixty-three men out of eight hundred asked to remain.

Next day, the Governor-general, with a numerous staff, proceeded to the colony of Harrach to inaugurate what he called 'the feast of husbandry.' A great many ladies in attendance on Madame Bugeaud, and many notables, had joined this country expedition. Sixty ploughs had been collected before the 'square house.' The Governor-general himself got off his horse and marked a furrow himself, to show the Arabs, as the official report says, that it was not his first attempt.

We find among the correspondence a short letter addressed to M. Gardère, bearing date 20th November, 1841 :—

I thought you were angry with me, my dear Gardère. At last your kind letter came to comfort me ; you had only been idle.

Do not expect a long letter. You may imagine that I have found mountains of business on my return from a two months' campaign. My wife and daughters complain that they see no more of me than if they were in Périgord.

My campaign was active and fruitful in events ; yet the results are inconsiderable, because this people is in a different condition from your worm-eaten, civilised societies. You know that I have always said that their reduction was not an affair of a year, and really it is only in this campaign that they have been attacked vigorously enough and pushed hard enough to do the work. So they are much shaken ; but much remains to be done.

I think people are beginning to get used to my ferocious appearance. As to the army I think it is entirely devoted to me, with very few exceptions.

Write me a long letter on the state of politics ; I know nothing of what is going on with you.

BUGEAUD.

The year 1841 had seen the fall of Tackdempt, Saïda, Boghar, and Thaza. The hand of the very Governor-general who had broken down Abdel-Kader's fortresses, and the house of his fathers, and chased him into the gorges of the Atlas with the sword at his back, wound up with driving a plough on the banks of the Harrach.

It was a prolific year. The King marked it by inserting the following sentence in the speech from the throne, delivered on the 27th of December, 1841 :

On the land that has now become, and will for ever remain French, our brave soldiers are carrying on their noble labours which I am glad my sons have had the honour of sharing. France will carry civilisation into Algiers as a sequel to her glory.

The forces of King Charles X., led by General Bourmont, had on June 14, 1830, landed at Sidi-Feruch, and taken possession of the soil of Africa by planting the standard of France. It was not until twelve years afterwards, the 1st of January, 1842, that Algeria could really be said to be conquered, or to be French territory, and France owed this to Bugeaud.

The real year of the conquest of Algeria was the year 1841.

## CHAPTER III.

### CHÉLIF AND OUARENSÈNIS (1842).

Report of January 4, 1842—Tempoure's Operations—General Rumigny in Algeria—March on Tlemcen—Preparation for the Spring Campaign—Massacre of Beni-Mered—Letter to M<sup>me</sup>. Bugeaud—Road by the Chiffa—Impulse to Colonisation—Letter to M<sup>me</sup>. Bugeaud—Campaign of the Sebaou against the Ben Salem—Correspondence with Guizot—Hasty Pamphlet—Letter from the King—Campaign on the Chélif and the Mina—Letter to Gardère—Description of the Ouarensenis—Success of Changarnier and Lamoricière—Rout of the Tribes—Submission—The General's Mercy.

THE last days of the year 1841 were marked by some brilliant successes in the province of Oran, and the Governor-general on the 4th of January, 1842, forwarded the following despatch to the War-Minister :

*Algiers, 4th January, 1842.*

SIR,—An extraordinary mail from Oran brings me letters from Colonel Tempoure that are most interesting. Certainly Abdel-Kader's power is rapidly diminishing in the province of Oran; and when his defeat is complete in that quarter it cannot fail to extend speedily over all the rest of the territory ruled by him as far as the province of Constantine.

You will see that the chiefs of twelve tribes accompanied Si-Mohammed ben Abdallah-Ouled-Sidi-Chigi in the solemn interview that he had near Tlemcen with Colonel Tempoure and General Mustapha. This combination is powerful enough to give reason to expect that it will be able to maintain itself alone; but it is wise to give it a powerful support, and I have written very positive instructions to Colonel Tempoure for that purpose. . . . There is reason to hope that the great union of douairs that goes by the name of Beni Amer will join the confederation, and then we shall be masters of the territory from Oran almost to Mascara.

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When General Bugeaud went to the province of

Oran on January 10, 1842, he appointed as chief of the government General Count de Rumigny, king's aide-de-camp, who had come a few weeks before to take command of the province of Algiers, and, it was said, to await the abeyance of the Governor-generalship.

So a report spread, both in France and Algeria, that General de Rumigny, an intimate friend of King Louis-Philippe, was destined to supersede General Bugeaud, who would not return. And this gave rise to a strange state of things; the opposition in the press and in parliament, only one year before irreconcilable enemies of General Bugeaud, suddenly set to work, with the violence of the time, to oppose this supposed substitution of a court favourite, for a man considered by all to be the conqueror and pacifier of Algeria, after his campaign of 1841.

King Louis-Philippe was really too much of a patriot, and too wise, to think differently, and he could only congratulate himself on the change of opinion in favour of a man whom he valued so highly; and he readily sacrificed his aide-de-camp, if, indeed, he ever had any serious thoughts of making him Governor-general.

General Bugeaud went to Oran with the purpose of organizing a winter campaign, to deprive Abdel-Kader of the only town left him, the old Arab capital of Mauritania; the relinquishment of which by Bugeaud himself, at the treaty of the Tafna, had been the subject of such severe criticism.

General Bugeaud commanded the troops in person, and with him was the old native general Mustapha ben Ismaël. The general order published at the

head-quarters in Algiers on the 25th of March, 1842, says shortly :—

The column collected at Oran, towards the end of January, operated during the most difficult season of the year. It was stopped neither by flooded torrents nor by the snows covering the hills. In this campaign of twenty-five days it secured the submission of all the tribes that extend from the Habra to the frontiers of Morocco. The occupation of Tlemcen has been the consequence.

The indefatigable Bugeaud did not stop at Tlemcen, though the weather was so bad. To complete the subjection of the west, he pushed on to Seldou, a fortress of the Emir situated thirteen leagues to the south-west of Tlemcen. The fort was destroyed on the 9th February; stores of iron and lead were found there, and seven brass guns, two of them cast at Tlemcen.

He returned to Algiers after only five weeks' absence; the powerful stimulus he gave to his lieutenants was never relaxed. The Governor-general was known to be at Algiers, with a steam-boat in the harbour with her steam always up, ready to be at any of his posts that was threatened, or was only inactive, within twenty-four hours. And so razzias were made on all sides, and the King's aide-de-camp sent to victual Medeah. This was done without interruption, though the only road lay through the Col de Mouzaia, and had always been found to cause a certain loss of men, calculated on beforehand by the staff.

Admiral Fourichon, lieutenant commanding the Governor-general's steamer, *Pharos*, in 1841, told us a short time ago, that the Marshal's activity of mind and body was incomparable. He slept very little, and had no hesitation in waking up his atten-



dants when he could not sleep himself. He very seldom wrote himself, and always slowly and with an undecided hand; but his private secretaries, Trochu, Vergé, and myself, were always occupied in writing under his dictation. Having indefatigable powers as a worker, he made the mistake of judging others by himself; and yet his wit, gaiety, liveliness, cheerfulness, and kindness, made him adored by all those who lived in intimacy with him. He delighted in talking, and was always lecturing. He was a wonderful story-teller, and able to give his tales a picturesque, original, and always varied turn. I remember one day, at the palace in Algiers, in 1841, he was sitting on a little low stool, and three deputies on their travels were standing round him, commissioners, and in some sort inspectors of his acts and deeds, MM. de Beaumont, de Corcelles, and de Tocqueville. M. de Corcelles was the only one of these who did justice to the Marshal, and who really loved him. The Marshal was telling his guests about the capture of Saragossa, and did it with so much warmth, animation, truth, and simplicity, that M. de Tocqueville, habitually not much of an admirer, came to us and confessed that he had never imagined our General could be so eloquent.

Admiral Fourichon was much affected as he said the Marshal's heart was very lofty, and full of nobility and greatness; in what multitudes of instances have I been witness to most splendid and affecting conduct on his part.

During the periods of rest, *razzias*\* were made

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\* M. Cherbonneau, the learned professor of Arabic, almost all of whose life was spent in Africa, has given us a picturesque definition of the word '*razzia*.' He says it really means in Arabic an attack by surprise, before break of day when the woman is ungirt, and the horse unbridled.

on all sides, only as a better preparation for the spring campaign.

By the 25th of March, the Governor-general was issuing a general order threatening the hill Kabyles, and causing expectation of a grand expedition into the interior of the Tell. 'They think themselves impregnable in their rocks, but we will show them that there is no retreat where our brave infantry cannot reach them.' This was quite a new departure, as hitherto all the expeditions had worked in the plains.

Towards the end of the month of May 1842, Baron Larrey, Napoleon's distinguished surgeon-in-chief, then being seventy-six years of age, was commissioned by Marshal Soult, the War-Minister, to make a sanitary inspection in Algiers. Baron Hippolyte Larrey, who accompanied his father, told us that the interview between the Governor-general and the sanitary inspector was, at first, rather cold and constrained, but soon became very unreserved. They discussed all the questions relating to the feeding of the troops in Africa, the hospital regulations, the provisions and stores accumulated in the great vaults at Algiers, the arrangement of the sanitary service of the troops, the conveyance of wounded, the use of coffee instead of alcohol, and such matters. The Marshal expressed his determination to check the spread of the constant Algerian intermittent fevers, by issuing sulphate of quinine to the troops; but the Baron pointed out to him that this active, and frequently adulterated, medicine could not be administered to sound men as a preventive without inconvenience, while it would be sufficient to insure there being a sufficient quantity of the

pure article to enable the sick to wrestle with the fever. General Bugeaud gave up his plan.

Now, instead of little journeys such as those from Mostaganem to Mascara, or from Oran to Tlemcen, the General determined himself to lead a grand expedition from Oran to Algiers by the valley of the Chélif. When a military commander committed himself to this long valley of the Chélif, between two chains of mountains unexplored and peopled with thoroughly hostile tribes, he had to calculate upon engaging in a most hazardous expedition; the slightest breath of war would rouse the mountaineers to the right and left, and might, in a way, repeat the retreat of Xenophon's ten thousand Greeks. His start was delayed by an event that showed how insecure was the state of things at this time, even at a short distance from Algiers.

On the 11th of April, at the gates of Boufarick, on the territory of the Beni-Mered, a little detachment of twenty-two men under Sergeant Blandan was attacked by three hundred Arab horse. These were Arabs from Sebaou. The brave non-commissioned officer called to his men to defend themselves to the death, he was killed, as well as five others; eleven were so seriously wounded as to require amputation. The firing lasted an hour and a half. Lieutenant-colonel Morris, hearing the sound of the firing, came up at full speed with a troop of the 4th Chasseurs d'Afrique, and saved the rest of the infantry detachment; only five men being unwounded. 'This was better than Mazagran, as then the men were under cover of walls,' said the Governor-general when he heard of it, and the names of these twenty-two brave men were published in general orders.

General Bugeaud did not leave Algiers till the 25th of April, leaving General de Bar\* in command of the Algiers division ; and we find the following letter written to Mdme. Bugeaud, but without date :

*Sidi-Ali ben Aichoun, upon the Oued Fodda, 1842.*

MY LOVE,—Notwithstanding the bad weather, I have visited all the tribes to the south and north of the Ouarensenis. Almost all of them have submitted to me, and have been condemned to disarmament ; this has commenced, but proceeds slowly.

To sum up, this vast insurrection is drawing to its close, and its final conclusion will be favourable to us ; for the fetters of the natives will be better riveted than before.

I shall be at . . . . to-morrow, by eight in the morning ; and find your letters there with news of all my people, so I shall be very happy.

I am very well, indeed, only for my lips being burnt by the sun. A thousand loves.

\* \* \* \* \*

I shall try to go and visit you on the 10th of June ; try to wait for me till then.

M. Louis Veillot in his fine book, *The War, and the Man of War*, says, ‘God had treated him as one. He loved. Placing in his heart an unbounded love for everything that is good and pure, respect for everything grand in his mind ; his house and home was the abode of simple sweet Christian virtues, all powerful over his soul.

‘The newspapers drew ridiculous and odious portraits of this fierce soldier, but he was a most tender

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\* General de Bar was born at Thiais in 1783. He enlisted as a volunteer, and won his stripes in the battles of the Empire. Seriously wounded at Bautzen, and made prisoner. He was distinguished at Waterloo, and seriously wounded. In 1823 he was fighting in Spain as lieutenant-colonel, and made colonel in 1830. *Maréchal-de-camp* in 1837, he took a glorious part in our fights in Algeria, and Marshal Bugeaud procured him the rank of lieutenant-general. He several times did the duty of Governor in Marshal Bugeaud's absence, being treated with great affection and confidence. In 1848 he retired as colonel of the third legion of the National Guard. Senator in 1852, and Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. General de Bar died in 1861.

husband and father, most devoted friend, most generous patron, and one of the few men I have known who readily forgot ingratitude and injury. This ambitious man's only aspiration was to live peacefully in the bosom of his family, on the patrimony he had nobly preserved by his work.

'Being compelled by the public service to leave this dear family, and these beloved fields, he went to battle wearing on his breast a medal of the holy Virgin given him by his youngest daughter, Léonie Bugeaud, Comtesse de Feray, and all around him could see the value he attached to this talisman. What a fine smile lit up his manly countenance, when I told him, on parting at night, "Marshal, think of the God they are praying to at Excideuil."'

Bugeaud announced his return for the 10th of June, and really did reach Algiers on the 11th; on the 20th Mdme. Bugeaud and the family sailed for France in the *Pharos*. In six weeks the Governor-general had come back. He had taken command of the Oran division, and brought them as far as Blidah up the valley of the Chélif, nearly in the line of the present railway from Algiers to Oran. There was no serious resistance; the tribes either submitted, or buried themselves in their mountains, saying, that they were not hostile, but feared that they should not escape Abdel-Kader's terrible vengeance. The Oran division met that of Generals de Bar and Changarnier from Algiers, and then returned as quietly to Oran. The Governor-general now remained stationary for four months, an unusual time for him; it seemed as if he was expecting a serious alarm that would again cause him to move in person.

'Our work is changed,' says the *Moniteur Algérien*; nearly

every page of which, evidently, contains passages inspired by the Governor-general. 'When we were only assailants we could select the time and place for our attacks; now that we are protectors we must march at all times, and to every place, to save the subject tribes from invasion. To keep is no less difficult than to conquer. Our brave soldiers will not be weary; they will not stop till they have destroyed the Emir's power even in its smallest holds. It must be dissipated to the last traces, so that this extraordinary man may not reappear.'

The Governor-general considered the army's duty changed, but he did not think it ought to rest, not by any means; and proclaimed that it ought to be more than ever ready to march. Writing to M. Guizot, the Foreign Minister, on the 18th of October, 1842, General Bugeaud says, 'While I am chasing the Emir, you will be striving to keep your majority against inconsistency and fickleness. You will see, as well as we shall, that it is as difficult to keep as to conquer.'

A good proof of the pacification at this time was the fact that Medeah and Milianah were now victualled by sutlers, and almost without application to the military administration. For eleven years this had only been accomplished by the periodical sacrifice of a number of soldiers, calculated beforehand, at the infernal Col de Mouzaia. Now these sutlers had to be recalled to prudence by an order of the director of the home department, approved by the Governor:

Merchants are in the habit of proceeding alone on foot from Blidah to Medeah, and Milianah unarmed; usually carrying merchandise with them, and passing the night in desert places. All Europeans are desired not to go alone to Medeah or Milianah, or any place in the interior. They should join in small caravans of seven or eight men, well armed. They should never bivouac in desert places, but sleep in the douairs nearest their road, and communicate with the kaïds and sheiks who will protect them.

The General was especially desirous of avoiding the difficulties and dangers of supplying Medeah by crossing the Col de Mouzaia, and he therefore had the splendid road through the gorges of the Chiffa surveyed, and immediately proceeded to the construction of it. This is one of the wonders of Algeria, of the beauties of the world. For a length of five leagues the road was made by pick and blasting through rocks towering three hundred feet above it, with the torrent below. The vegetation is beautiful, and a fact in natural history will show how inaccessible are these gorges, for a tribe of apes still continue to live in peace upon the Chiffa, defying the hunters' arms of precision, the only place in Algeria where they are now to be found except the mountain of Bougie.

This temporary pacification, obtained by the stupefaction of the Arabs at the number and vigour of the blows inflicted upon them in 1841 by the new conqueror, did not disarm General Bugeaud's numerous critics and keen opponents. In the press and on the tribune these opponents never ceased to pursue him ; and the General showed himself much too sensitive to these attacks, as unfortunately he always did.

However, he took advantage of this summer of 1842, to give a hitherto unknown impulse to colonisation. More was, in fact, done than in the previous twelve years, nine new villages were planted, and the following year nine more.

On the 30th of August, France had received the submission of the Isser, a powerful tribe holding the first hills to the east of the great plain. This submission completed the pacification of the tribes of the Mitidjah.

But our indefatigable General was planning another campaign, even beyond the Isser, against a little chief, named Ben-Salem, who held the valley of the Sebaou, and on the 29th of September he went in command of the column to operate in the east beyond the gorges of the Isser. The expedition destroyed a small bordj, the capital of Ben-Salem, having encountered but little firing; Colonel Leblond of the 48th of the line being unfortunately killed, a valuable officer. The Governor-general returned to Algiers on the 16th of October, and there found Mme. Bugeaud, who had arrived with her children on the 19th.

Another chief, formerly a khalifa of Abdel-Kader, Si-Mohammed Ben Mahi-Eddin, a man of great energy, gave us his assistance most devotedly in this campaign, especially as the column was returning. He took charge of the transport and escort of the sick and wounded, and he did it as well as French soldiers could have done.

The Governor-general rewarded him with the style of Khalifa for the hundred and twelve tribes of the Sebaou district just conquered. He wished to strike the fancy of the natives by making this first ceremony of investiture at Algiers a grand solemnity. At eight o'clock in the morning, the Khalifa proceeded to Government House, accompanied by his brother, three agas, and the hundred and twelve kaïds of the tribes placed under his command, guided by Chef d'Escadron Daumas. The Governor-general made them an address through the interpreter, M. Léon Roches, exhorting them to be faithful to their contract of alliance; and promising them greatness, threatening punishment and transportation to France



if they broke it when once undertaken, and then he invested the chiefs with suitable robes.

Though the General's activity had been crowned with success, he thought he could perceive an intention to reduce the number of troops in Algeria, shown in some acts of the War Minister. As he was unfortunately always interested in the discussions of the Chambers, and the attacks of the press upon Algerian matters, he did not confine himself to addressing observations to his superior, Marshal Soult, he chose to bring his case before the public, by publishing a pamphlet, protesting against any measure of this kind. Marshal Soult was very properly annoyed at this proceeding, and did not conceal his displeasure with the Governor-general.

M. Guizot was in regular correspondence with General Bugeaud. The great Minister displayed an unflinching esteem and attachment for the soldier, notwithstanding the divergence of their temperament and character. M. Guizot's *Memoirs* give some interesting particulars of this intimacy. It may be seen how cleverly and dexterously the politician brought the Governor-general round to his opinions, not directly opposing him, as the War Minister too often did. These are the fine and wise words that M. Guizot addressed to his friend General Bugeaud, in order to allay the irritation produced by the reproof that the War Minister had thought it his duty to convey to his immediate inferior in rank, in reference to the pamphlet mentioned :—

M. GUIZOT TO GENERAL BUGEAUD.

*Paris, 20 September, 1842.*

You complain of me, my dear General, and you have some

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reason to do so. Yet I am not without excuses. I have a great dislike to empty words. I had nothing necessary, nothing practical to say to you. I venture to think that you trust me, whether near or far off, whether I speak or am silent. So I have not written to you. I have rejoiced in your success, and believed in it beforehand, because I have confidence in you. I have supported you in the Council and elsewhere, whenever I had a chance. I have laboured with some success to secure the predominance of the only policy that can support you, and that you can support. These are my proofs of friendship, my dear General, be sure you have gained mine; and I shall be faithful to it, and always charmed to prove it to you.

You are entrusted with a great work, and you will succeed in it. That is glory, you love it, and you are right. There are only two things in this world that are worth caring for,—domestic happiness and glory. The public are beginning to believe that they must rely upon you as regards Africa, and give you all you want to complete what you have begun. I have just read what you have just written, it is conclusive. In your place, I do not know if I should have written it; deeds are more authoritative than words. But your reasoning is supported by your deeds I shall make use of it in the next session. Meantime, finish your work of securing and completing the military supremacy. Then we will consider the territorial establishments. I am as much impressed as you are with the necessity of action in Algiers while Europe is at peace. Africa is the business for our leisure time.

The General's reply was thus :—

GENERAL BUGEAUD to M. GUIZOT.

*Algiers, 18 October, 1842.*

Yes, I trust you, far or near, writing or silent, my dear Minister, and am honoured by the friendship you assure me of.

You tell me, 'In your place I do not know if I should have written, deeds are more authoritative than words.' I have not written to turn my deeds to account, and have not said a word about them. I wrote, chiefly to oppose a notion that appeared in the papers, in private conversations, in letters, and especially in the War-Minister's letters, the reduction of the army in Africa. The Marshal War-Minister has found fault with this publication. Had he a right to do so according to precedent? You can judge by the reply I made him, and enclose a copy of it for you. But supposing that I was to blame, was it right to admonish me in the papers? I was very much vexed at an article published in the

*Moniteur* of Paris. I do not think I have failed in discipline or propriety, and I flatter myself that no general in command, two hundred leagues from his country, has been better disciplined than I have.'

There was some reason for the African General's vexation. Although Marshal Soult was dictatorial and quick to take offence, he highly esteemed his old comrade of the grand army. He liked to remind him that they had both been present at the battle of Austerlitz, one with his corporal's stripes, the other invested with the dignity of Marshal of France. Unhappily, General Bugeaud was not patient.

The year 1842 was fatal to France. The death of the Crown-Prince, the Duke of Orleans, killed\* on the 13th of July upon the road to Neuilly, destroyed the hopes of a whole people. The African army, having seen him in action on the field of battle, loved him, and held him in high esteem. The Duke, intelligent and brave, had the rare power of charming and attracting. And so the hearts of men were drawn to him irresistibly; and it must be said that few princes were more popular, more beloved, or more sincerely and bitterly lamented than was the father of my lord the Count of Paris.

In the month of October, 1842, the Duke d'Aumale, promoted to the rank of general, returned to Africa.

Before leaving Algiers, the General-in-command wrote the following letter to his friend Gardère; and in it will be found, as is always the case at this

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\* By a carriage accident.—Ed.

period of his life, Bugeaud's two great subjects of thought, Abdel-Kader and the opposition.

*Algiers, 12 November, 1842.*

MY DEAR GARDÈRE,—You have not written to me for a long time, neither have I to you, because you were in the midst of the honeymoon, and I in the midst of the labours of Hercules ; that is to say, in those labours that consist in subduing thousands of wild beasts, and it must also be said some great citizens, who want to give the Arabs a nationality.

You have been travelling, I know ; you have been at Bordeaux to show your young wife to your relations and friends ; that is charming. I presume that you are happy, and wish you the continuance of that delightful state.

As for me I am always fighting against Abdel-Kader, who strives against his ill-fortune with grand energy and ability. He is really a master man, worthy of a better fate. I consider his business is done, without recovery. He may support himself for a time as a partisan chief ; he can never regain a sovereign's power ; and I think that in the spring we shall finally expel him from the last territory that provides him with any resources, between the Chélif and the Mina.

Now the important enemies are no longer there, they are at Paris. Around those in power there are envious men, incapable of believing anything, detracting from everything that is done, and so managing to inspire doubts in the minds of the Minister and the King. These speeches come to me, and I sometimes see traces of them in the official correspondence. I am in a rage ; but what can be done ? I console myself by thinking that generals have always been subject to such mortifications.

I am sending the King six horses, that the Minister had told me to buy for him. I request Marshal Soult to cause the price of the purchase, amounting with incidental expenses to 7200 francs, to be remitted to you.

Answer me, and tell me of your young brother, of your travels, and your plans.

My wife and daughters are here, and well. Charles has stayed in Périgord, as we dreaded the climate for him.

BUGEAUD.

All the way along the valley of the Chélif, the eye wandering along the blue line of the southern

mountains, rests upon the grand dome of Ouarensenis, a rock giant, rearing his bald head above wooded attendants. The Arabs call it 'the eye of the world,' thus alluding to the hemispherical form of the peak, and the incomparable view to be enjoyed from it of the course of the Chélif, of the fresh valleys at the mountain foot, and lastly over the sombre blue of the Sahara, commencing far off to the south, in the direction of Tiaret.

The region of sloping woods, that range around the foot of the peak, is really charming. Everywhere else in the provinces of Oran and Algiers, what bears the official name of forest is only poor copsewood and brushwood.\* Here the forests of green oak, Aleppo pines and pistachios, deck the undulating flanks of fresh valleys, and terminate towards the east in the splendid mass of the cedars of Teniet-El-Had, the marvel of forest bouquets in this French land.

In these woody undulations of the Ouarensenis, whose freshness is a delicious contrast to the furnace temperature that exists for nine months out of the twelve in the long valley of the Chélif, there was everywhere a crowded population fifteen or twenty years ago. The typhus of 1867, the evil year, the Arabs call it, made frightful ravages among them. The solitude of most of these gorges is only disturbed by the passage of small caravans, and the sudden sound of the partridge's flight, or by the companies of wild pigs that they disturb.

The chain of the Ouarensenis was then a rampart of stone, to the south of which Abdel-Kader could take shelter where he had never been attacked.

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\* The Arabs have only one name for forest and brushwood—*saba*.

Bugeaud had already twice examined the calcareous giant with his eyes, and he was not the man to be scared by this unknown region. He had once approached the scarped flanks of the chain, without trying to penetrate them, in May, 1841, in the pursuit after the battle at the bridge of the Chélif, under Milianah. A second time he had in 1842 defiantly reviewed the whole mountain, while ascending the Chélif from west to east. The mountaineers had not issued from their gorges. Bugeaud was determined to seek them there, and he did so in his campaign of November and December, 1842.

Four affluents of the Chélif descend almost as parallels from the chain of Ouarensenis to the river from south to north. These are, beginning from the west, the Oued Rihou, the Oued Isly, the Oued Fodda, and the Oued Rouina, this last taking its rise in the region of the cedars.

To the west of these four valleys, the most considerable was that of the Mina, where by the General's orders Lamoricière and Gentil stopped the passage like beaters for game.

The General-in-command started from Blidah on the 22nd of November, speedily reached the Chélif, and buried himself in the mountainous mass of the left bank, thrusting the tribes before him. The Flittas, forming the advanced guard of the enemy's masses, immediately effected a movement in retreat, finding at the eastern opening of the defiles Lamoricière before them, and were obliged to surrender to him. The others, after retiring across the three first rivers, made head in the gorges on the Oued Rihou. The Emir himself had hastened up to encourage them.

Changarnier, having collected the principal corps d'armée from Milianah, after having repulsed a first attack of the Arabs on the 28th of November, attacked the tribes on the 8th of December, and caused them great loss, himself only having two killed and seven wounded. Abdel-Kader had come in all haste from the south, to encourage by his presence these masses of the faithful, driven back by an unexpected attack at this season; he felt that the loss of the Ouarensenis would be an irreparable disaster to him. His horsemen engaged man to man with Colonel Korte's Chasseurs. Three days following did they repeat their furious charges upon the French cavalry. This time our loss was more serious, amounting to seven killed and seventeen wounded. Artillery Captain Persac allowed himself to be cut to pieces upon one of his guns which was in danger for a moment. After this combat, as usual, far more sanguinary for his men than ours, the Emir disappeared.

While Changarnier's column was thus taking possession of the Oued Rihou, and executing a turning movement in the secondary valley of Oued Talata, thus closing all exit towards the west, the principal corps d'armée, under the Governor-general and the Duke d'Aumale, followed the line of the crest; thrusting before it the vast crowd of mountain tribes, warriors, women, children, old men and cattle.

This maddened crowd, knowing the localities, felt as if it was being driven to certain death. In the last march it would reach the very dome of Ouarensenis, at the great peak of Cheuba, suddenly cut off into slippery and broken rocks, forming a precipice. At the foot of the peak, Changarnier,

sword in hand, and behind him Lamoricière, were expecting the fall of the human vintage.

Bold horsemen might still dash over at the risk of breaking their horses' legs, but what would become of the families, the children, and the old men? Here they were, a prey to an unknown conqueror, a foe to the true religion, whose cruelty the Emir had hundreds of times described. The dread of a general massacre, and horrible death at the bottom of the precipice, was just the thing to terrify the tribes; for such, no doubt, would have been the cruel conclusion under the Turks, their usual enemies.

The 15th of December was a fearful day. The French kept on advancing. The tribes were in unutterable confusion. The chiefs excitedly deliberating, surrounded by the terrified multitude, amid the lowing of the herds hard driven in flight, amid the guttural shrieks of the Arab women, unpleasant in sound even in their expressions of joy, and now denoting nothing but despair.

On the morning of the 16th, the oldest of the chiefs, Si-Mahommed bel Hadj, kaïd of the Beni-Ourag, came to the Governor-general and sued for mercy, asking him if such a number of families were devoted to destruction. He thus addressed General Bugeaud :

The word of a Beni Ourag is proverbial. If you are merciful, I am yours for ever ! I will tell Abdel-Kader, ' I have lost six sons for you in battle. The tribe has sacrificed everything for you ; we can do no more for you, as you cannot protect us.'

Mercy tempered the General's disposition, and also his views. Such a man as he could not dream of a massacre. Such a large body of prisoners would have been very difficult to bring back by these



difficult gorges. So he judged it the best policy to leave them free ; and when Mahommed bel Hadj offered his youngest son as hostage, gave this answer :—

My mercy shall be complete. I will have nothing to do with a hostage ; your face gives me confidence. Besides, I have better than hostages—power, activity, knowledge of your mountains, and the certainty of resuming all our advantages if you fail in keeping your word.

This was the end of the first expedition to the Ouarensènis. The army remained a week resting among the tribes and their herds. The Duke d'Aumale was to lead the Algiers division back towards Medeah and Milianah. Changarnier, the hero of Constantine and the Titer, received orders to retire upon the coast towards Tenes, as the General thought him good in all kinds of country, especially the unknown. Bugeaud considered the occupation of Tenès necessary in order to take possession of the central Chélif, as a base of operations upon that long coast where no point was occupied between Cherchell and Mostaganem. General de Bar had been sent from Cherchell to Tenes in the beginning of 1842, and had not succeeded in getting there. Bugeaud expected to do better by sending Changarnier. This time again, by a singular fatality, the attempt failed, as Changarnier found the arid rocks of Tenès would not feed his cavalry, though there was no opposition from the tribes ; so he had to turn back to the east, and was obliged to feed his horses on biscuit for the last two days, since the barley had failed. The Governor had a steamboat awaiting him at Mostaganem, and touched at Tenès on his way to Algiers, expecting to find Changarnier there, but found nothing but solitude.

The campaign of Ouarensenis had lasted forty-seven days. The Governor-general had returned to Algiers on the 30th of December, not in a humour for long repose, and besides an offensive return of Abdel-Kader almost immediately obliged him to take up arms again.

## CHAPTER IV.

### TENÈS AND ORLÉANSVILLE (1843).

**Bugeaud's Vexation—Confidences to Guizot and Gardère—Saint-Arnaud's Sortie—Reappearance of Abdel-Kader—Return of Aumale and Changarnier—Disturbance from Morocco to Sebaou—Building of Orléansville and Tenès—Cavaignac Governor—Razzia by the Governor and Pelissier—Submission of False Chiefs of Ouarensenis—Ahmed Ben Salem, Chief of Laghouat, asks Investiture.**

AN old Algerian of the first days of conquest lately told us he was in Africa from 1832 to 1842, so that he only saw General Bugeaud for one year; but that he certainly did more in that one year than all his predecessors in ten years.

The execution of the design for 1841, followed by the remarkable results of the campaign of 1842, seemed to be a reason for an exceptional reward, and everybody thought so in France and Algeria, Bugeaud as well as the rest. In fact the King and his ministers, through the medium of State Councillor Laurence, had made him expect his speedy promotion to the rank of Marshal. He was always too high-minded to ask for anything.

He experienced the keen vexation of seeing a Marshal's baton just vacant bestowed upon another, and himself only receiving the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. His feelings in this matter are displayed in letters to M. Guizot, and to his intimate friend Gardère :—

About the end of April, 1843, says M. Guizot, in his *Memoirs*, I received this letter from General Bugeaud :—

MY DEAR MINISTER,

\* \* \* \* \*

In my first impulse I had written the enclosed letter to the War-Minister. On reflection, I decided not to send it; but I forward it to you as a comfort to my oppressed soul, and justly wounded pride. If anything could console me, it would be the thought that they must have a high idea of my devotion and self-denial, to substitute for a promised recompense a cordon that has been given for very small services to men who have not been distinguished.

In the month of January Bugeaud had expected this disappointment, and had written as follows to his friend Gardère :—

*Algiers, 9 January, 1843.*

There is some truth in what you tell me about the delay in rewarding my services; but I cannot believe in ill-will. It is quite certain that, through weakness, men are more careful of their foes than their friends. They are sure of me, and so do not treat me with respect.

However, they write that they are now considering me. We shall soon see. Whatever comes of it, I shall devote neither more nor less zeal to my difficult duty. I toil for the country and for honour.

\* \* \* \* \*

And again in April—

\* \* \* \* \*

After sending me formal information by M. Laurence, from the King and the ministry, that I should be made Marshal in January last, they have appointed another, and sent me the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour.

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I do not know to whom to put down this remarkable treatment of a devoted man, who had asked for nothing, but thought he had the word of the King and Cabinet.

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Nevertheless the great Algerian work took up much more of the Governor-general's attention than personal vexation. Now in winter-time, just after the campaign of forty-seven days, the Duke d'Aumale

had despatched an officer completely in the General's confidence—St. Arnaud—to finish the work in the Ouarensènis. Bugeaud wrote to the Duke, discussing the arrangements, and showing great interest and anxiety. The Prince also in his reply says, 'The responsibility of St. Arnaud's movement weighs upon me. I would remind you, General, that I had always thought of this operation as combined with a sortie from Blidah. If this is not to take place, would it not be wise to write to M. St. Arnaud not to prolong his stay at Teniet-El-Ahd, but to return to Milianah?' St. Arnaud himself writes to his brother: 'I have explained to the Prince our position in the south, become critical by the repeated razzias of Ben Allal upon our ally, Ameur Ben Ferrath, the aga of the Ouled-Ayad. I have shown him the necessity of my making a sortie, and laid out my plan of campaign. His Highness leaves me 200 horses more; and whatever be the weather, snow or frost, I go to-morrow, and shall be out twenty days at least.'

Some sudden information, of unexpected gravity, came to increase tenfold the Governor-general's anxieties for his old aide-de-camp of Blaye, St. Arnaud, to whom he was very much attached, as well as for the responsibility of the Prince, under whose orders St. Arnaud had proceeded upon this adventure.

The Emir had penetrated into the heart of the Titery. He was reported only a few leagues from Cherrhell. Abdel-Kader, who had carefully avoided fighting, and had left us undisturbed while we plundered and subdued the tribes of the Ouarensènis, dexterously took advantage of our retreat to appear in the midst of the populations, through whom we had just made

our way. He had with him three or four hundred regular horsemen, and seven or eight hundred horse of the tribes of the Ouarensenis. So he was stronger than any of the tribes taken alone. Thanks to his still indisputable reputation, he had no difficulty in influencing the first tribe he met with, enlarged his numbers with fresh recruits on the way, and reached the Chélif with more than two thousand horse.

The audacious Arab did not hesitate to tell the tribes round Cherchell that France wanted to make peace; that the King had sent his son on purpose to negotiate it, and that a great demonstration of the Arabs would obtain better terms. Abdel-Kader had the heads of the chiefs of some tribes that refused to abandon our cause cut off, and their bodies left unburied. Changarnier, hastily leaving Blidah on the 11th of January, reached Milianah in haste by the 12th. The troops of the garrison could not be made available; the strong men were away with St. Arnaud. Torrents of rain hindered the march. Abdel-Kader pushing forward came within twenty leagues of Cherchell, and there he encountered General de Bar.

Meanwhile, the Governor-general, feeling the importance of this point threatened by the Emir, went himself to Cherchell by land on the 17th of January. As soon as the alarm sounded, all his lieutenants had been put in motion. We have seen that Changarnier had been immediately sent to join St. Arnaud, with the few men that could be found. At the same time the Duke d'Aumale issued from Medeah. Gentil and Lamoricière had been manœuvring since the 10th of January at the north and to the east of Tackdempt, in virtue of previous orders, as there had not been time to inform them of the Emir's attack in the Titeri.

On the 3rd of February General Changarnier returned to Milianah, having chastised the tribes ; the Duke d'Aumale also returned the same day to Medeah. As for Abdel-Kader, seeing his retreat threatened, he had again disappeared.

The general order of the 12th of February says, 'The enemy has disappeared, twice defeated by General de Bar, to the west of ChercHELL, threatened by Changarnier, who has severely punished the rebels. The bold strokes of H.R.H. the Duke d'Aumale to the south-west of Milianah should be noticed.'

The Governor-general, not being able to find Abdel-Kader, did not choose to be set campaigning to no purpose. For some months an idea had been running in his head, and he was so taken up with this notion, during the spring of 1843, that it caused him to leave to his lieutenants Lamoricière and d'Aumale the honour of pursuing the Emir himself, and inflicting terrible blows upon him, in the absence of the Commander-in-chief, that there was then reason to expect would be decisive. This notion was the establishment of a French post upon the middle of the Chélif, with a victualling port corresponding to it on the coast at Tenès.

After the unsuccessful attempts we have mentioned, another was made by Changarnier, who descended upon Tenès by the Dahra, but was daunted by finding it such a barren position, swept by the wintry winds, and so did not stay there. Now the Governor-general was going to try the adventure in person, and fail like his lieutenants.

He left ChercHELL on the 27th of January, and intended to return by the 7th of February, after

securing the submission of the nearest tribes. A frightful storm of snow and hail had assailed his column, torn down his tents, caused the loss of beasts of burden, some muskets, stores, and even two unhappy soldiers, carried away in torrents.

‘When the fine weather returns,’ says the Governor-general rather disappointed, anonymously, in his organ, the *Moniteur Algérien*, of the 10th of February, ‘there will be an opportunity of resuming the work, with some security of success.’

The unexpected incursion of Abdel-Kader, and the Governor-general’s premature return, spread some alarm in the colony. The strangest and most exaggerated reports were in circulation: victories by the Emir were talked of, French columns completely destroyed, even the leaders were mentioned by name. These reports, propagated by two equally dangerous sentiments—fear and malice—were transmitted across the Mediterranean by private correspondence, being received and magnified by the hostile press; and this did not fail to produce the usual annoying effect upon General Bugeaud.

He was especially vexed about the secondary check in the matter of Tenès, for it seems that a somewhat premature notice had appeared in the *Moniteur Algérien*, and it was fortunate, perhaps, that bad weather had prevented any tradesmen from making their way there in the expectation of finding a settlement.

We find some letters addressed to the Duke d’Aumale, as Commander of the provinces of Medeah and Milianah, that show the Governor’s anxieties. There were many tribes to chastise in the Prince’s province of Titery, although it was so near, and the roads were for the time unsafe.



General Bugeaud's principal object in his grand campaign of the first half of 1843 was the complete establishment of the French power upon the central Chélif. Before starting for this long absence, he did not forget his love of farming and gardening, being no doubt reminded by the return of spring. In a circular, dated 7th of March, he advises all the commandants of the care to be taken of plantations, trenches to be dug at the foot of the trees, bundles of thorns to be reared round them as a protection from the teeth of cattle; he proscribes the bad habit of cutting off the head of mulberry-trees, &c.

In spite of this affectation of tranquillity, the Governor-general was really anxious. Ben Salem, whom he left behind, was from the Djurjura stirring up the tribes of the Sebaou, placed under the Khalifa Mahiddin by the French; and in another direction the political situation of the region comprised between the Mina, the Chélif, and the sea, was far from being splendid in the month of April, 1843. Insurrection was still at the gates of Cherchell; all the Dahra, except the great tribe of the Beni Jeroual, subdued by General Gentil on the 22nd of March, felt Abdel-Kader's influence. All the tribes of the Chélif and the Ouarensenis obeyed him. The west of the Titery, the east of Mascara, were in movement. Letters from the Emir, profusely distributed from Morocco to the Sebaou, were making our allies uneasy, and encouraging his partisans. With 800 horse, and 2000 regular infantry, our intrepid antagonist had recovered confidence in his luck.

A vigorous offensive action was necessary; in the Governor-general's ideas it comprised—first, the immediate formation of two forts in the central region of

the Chélif, Tenès, and Orléansville ; of a third line of posts, running from the south-east of Mascara to the south of Medeah: Tiaret, Khmis of the Beni Ourag, Oued Rouina, Teniet-El-Had, Boghar ; secondly, the pursuit of the Emir's smalah in the desert with two light columns taken from the divisions of Algiers and Oran, and starting one from Boghar, the other from Tiaret.

The opening of the road along the Chiffa, during the summer of 1842, through a most difficult country, had naturally made Bugeaud think of having others made by the army. The road, starting from Milianah, across the little chain of the Gontas, was the first for notice. By the 15th of March, eight battalions were established upon the communications between Blidah and the Chélif to open a road for wheel carriages between that valley and the Mitidjah. The General said that in a few months this road would be as useful for trade as for war.

In spite of the activity shown, the communication was not practicable till the 20th of April. On the same day the Governor, having left Algiers on the 17th, crossed the Gontas with a large train of carriages and animals. On the 23rd, having collected his troops under Milianah, he marched without losing time.

Descending the course of the Chélif, he at last on the 26th reached the point of El-Esnam. This was to be the site of the future town of Orléansville.

The upper Chélif is known by the name of N'har-Ouassel (nascent river). It rises near Tiaret, and is enlarged eight leagues further on by the Sbain-Aioun (seventy springs). A country legend declares that it was an ancestor of Khalifa Sidi-el-Aribi who, like

Moses, made these seventy springs rise from the ground.

One day the Khalifa was telling General Bugeaud the story of the miracle, probably with the object of glorifying his own ancestry. He told a lengthy tale that this country was in those days entirely without water, and that the people asked his ancestor, Sidi-el-Aribi, who lived in the ninth century of the Hegirah, to procure them some by his baraka (blessing).

Sidi-el-Aribi, touched by these prayers, granted their wish on the spot where he was upon his horse. He invoked God and caused his horse to make seventy bounds, and at each bound there immediately burst forth a spring of water from the spot the horse's shoes had struck. When the Marabout thought he had raised water enough from the ground, he made his horse walk. The springs joined and followed him in form of a river, to which he gave the name of N'har Ouassel. Then the holy man thought he would conduct this river over as much land as possible, so that the Mahometans should have the benefit of it. And, therefore, when Sidi-el-Aribi had led the N'har Ouassel, which afterwards took the name of Chélif, to the mountains of the Titery, he conducted it along to the sea, and placed its estuary near Mostaganem, almost under the meridian of its source.

General Bugeaud listened attentively, and said to our Khalifa, 'That is very fine, but our Chélif has a much older origin than that you give it, being known to the Romans long before your ancestor's time.'

The Khalifa was at first disconcerted, but then he answered, 'Possibly, but then the Chélif had no water in it.'

The site for the town was selected at the confluence of the river and the Tigraouet, where a spot on the left bank was marked by Roman ruins. Some statues thrown down and mutilated had caused the Arabs to call this spot El-Esnam (the idols). The General stopped there, as he had arranged a meeting with General Gentil coming from Mostaganem.

On the 27th of April, General Bugeaud marked out the situation of the capital of the plain of the Chélif on an irregular parallelogram of six hundred by three hundred mètres, pointed out by the Roman ruins of Castellum Tingitanum.

The vast agricultural plain of the Chélif extends between Cherchell and Milianah on the east, Mostaganem and Oran on the west. The passage of the river is obstructed by the mountainous region bearing the historic name of Dahra at its eastern end, and it is obliged to run parallel to the Mediterranean for three hundred kilomètres, though its course is directed towards it in the first instance.

When this territory was conquered there was no palpable centre of population either in mountain or plain. The submission of almost all the tribes over this vast space had been obtained, and these advantages would certainly have been secured if it had been possible to leave a portion of the army upon the central Chélif. But they were obliged to retire behind the first range of the Atlas.

For the subjugation of the valley of the Chélif, the Dahra, and the Ouarensenis, General Bugeaud, according to the plan so often explained by him from the tribune, desired to have a double base, the camp in the interior, and the supplying town on the coast.

As soon as the site of the future camp town was

selected, an order established the military subdivision of El Esnam :—

*Camp, El Esnam, 26th April, 1843.*

Colonel Cavaignac is invested with the command of the subdivision, El Esnam, and the active brigade established at that spot.

Though the territory of El Esnam is comprised within the province of Oran, the superior officer in command at this post will correspond direct with the Governor-general. But he will address his general reports to the commandant of the province, who will be the chief commanding officer of the troops collected at El Esnam. The territory assigned to the subdivision of Esnam will be determined subsequently.

(Signed)

BUGEAUD.

Pelissier.

On the 28th, that is to say, the very day after he had marked out this new camp, that eventually became an important town, the Governor-general went northwards toward Tenès.

This was a fourth attempt. And really curious ill-luck had obliged four expeditions to be made before a point on the coast could be occupied, although we were uncontested masters of the sea. This was on the site of the Roman colony of Cartenna.

Crossing the Chélif, Bugeaud marched at the head of the train, himself opening the road for the carriages, personally encouraging the workmen, and having the chief obstacles removed.

This military march, complicated by road-making, and conducting an important convoy through the heart of a hostile country, caused such a dispersion of the companies as the enemy was sure to try to take advantage of.

On the 29th of April, Ben Kassili, agha of the

Dahra, made an attack upon the left flank of our troops, as they were scattered over a long line of march, with four or five hundred horse and as many foot ; but he was put to flight and pursued for three hours by General de Bourjolly, whom the Governor-general had placed in reserve to cover the works.

A road for wheels had to be made over calcareous rocks only just marked by a narrow path. Pickaxe and shovel could no longer be used ; it was blasting and the miner's pick. It might have been supposed that it would take a fortnight, but the ardour of the troops was so great that in a week the train arrived at the port of Tenès.

On the 1st of May, almost as soon as the army reached the spot by land, the arrival of three steam-vessels from Algiers was signalled, and the shore was soon covered with merchandise and material of every kind.

After prodigious labours, that only the army could execute with such rapidity, the road from Tenès to El Esnam was fit for the passage of carriages by the 8th of May. The first train started on the 9th with the Governor-general at its head, and the newly-subdued tribes were most eager to furnish three hundred and fifty beasts of burden to add to the transport. It was reasonable to suppose that the road from Tenès to El Esnam would be quite safe without an intermediate post, and that the trains could go without escort.

There was every prospect that 'these two places would be not only military posts, but soon become most important trade posts.\* Two hundred and

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\* Tenès has now 3000 inhabitants, Orléansville (El Esnam) 4000.

forty-three artisans or tradesmen had applied for permission to establish themselves at Tenès by the 16th of May, and the custom-house had taken 1500 francs. The camp of El Esnam was abundantly supplied.

The tribes did not remain inactive; they were working on fortifications at both points, gardens, barracks, and permanent army establishments, building lime-kilns and bakers' ovens, fresh hewing the rubbish of old Roman ruins to be used in new buildings, and clearing out the old cisterns to be used as cellars or magazines.

Gardens were portioned out to all the corps, and brought into cultivation, being sown with the seeds of all sorts of vegetables.

Everything was arranged so that the work of erecting a permanent camp at El Esnam should be most actively carried on, as it was placed in a most favourable situation. Stone fit for lime had been found on the spot, and a tile-kiln was in process of construction. The wood they had at hand ought to be enough to last the whole army consumption for five years.

At El Esnam the dwarf jujube tree that covers large spaces of the stony plains on the left bank of the river had removed any fear of want of fuel. The venerable roots of this shrub made an inexhaustible store, and the Governor-general gave orders that the stocks should not be entirely destroyed.

By orders of the Marshal, President of Council, War-Minister, dated May 16, 1843, the camp of El Esnam took the name of Orléansville, and this homage to the reigning dynasty and to the memory of the Duke of Orleans was adopted at the suggestion of the Governor-general.

Colonel Pelissier was sent into the Dahra (Beni-Madoun), while the Governor-general, having left a convoy at El Esnam, descended the Chélif and made an attack from the south. By the 12th the junction of the troops was effected, and the enemy were attacked by the advanced guard under Colonel Pelissier. After a skirmish that cost the enemy thirty men, we made one of the largest razzias of this war, two thousand prisoners of both sexes, four or five hundred mares, seven or eight hundred asses, twelve thousand head of cattle.

On the 25th of May, the General left Orléansville with two columns to invade the Eastern Dahra in concert with columns from Milianah and Cherrhell. The Khalifa Berkani left those mountains and fled to the Ouarensenis. The tribes submitted. Colonel Ladmirault was left in command.

Meanwhile, Changarnier was establishing posts, and punishing the Beni Fera, to the east of the Ouarensenis. He caught a large number against the rocks, and took 2000 prisoners, eight thousand sheep, eight hundred cattle, and a hundred and fifty beasts of burden.

Lamoricière was also establishing the post of Tiaret, but was disturbed by an incursion of Abdel-Kader, who had with eighteen hundred horse raised the whole tribe of Hachem. Lamoricière placed stores in Tiaret, and then turned to operations in pursuit of the Emir.

Sidi-Mohammed-bel-Hadj and Ben Marabot were faithful to their promises. They joined the General in the beginning of June, and offered to act as negotiators. Bugeaud appointed Ben Marabot his Khalifa, and Mohammed-bel-Hadj his aga.



They were the chiefs who had capitulated on the 16th of December at the great peak. They kept their plighted word ; but, as often occurs with Orientals, especially nomades, the General was mistaken as to the rank of the individuals.

None of the great chiefs who could be considered as the real masters of the mountains, by their riches, and moral power over the people, had been taken in the sweep of the net in December, 1842. As soon as our columns had taken their departure, these chiefs appeared upon the spot still bearing traces of our devastations, and had immediately induced the tribes to cease their obedience to us. And thus the Governor-general was compelled to make a second campaign of the Ouarensenis in the summer of 1843. When he went away this time he felt he should soon be obliged to return again.

The capture of two khalifas of Abdel-Kader, who were in the neighbourhood, was missed once by Colonel Leflô in a night attack, and afterwards by the Governor-general himself, who chased them unsuccessfully in the direction of the desert, from the 5th to the 8th of May.

On the 9th General Bugeaud returned to Orléansville. His rear-guard, following him, was attacked by the mountaineers on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of July. Everything showed that it would be necessary to return in autumn.

About this same time Colonel Yusuf entered into communication with the great tribes of the desert, the Larbaa, the Laghouat, and the Ouled-Nails. The chiefs came to Algiers, awaiting the Governor-general.

Changarnier, on the 16th of June, entered the

Ouarensenis, and returned after divers razzias and submissions. At Medeah, Colonels Korte and Yusuf made an enormous razzia on the 29th of June, capturing 15,000 head of cattle.

The sudden extension of our influence over the oases in the south of the province of Algiers, over the territory called the desert, was to be the manifest result of the check inflicted upon Abdel-Kader in person to the south of Boghar by H.R.H. the Duke d'Aumale.

The capture of the smalah is important enough to be given with full particulars.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE SMALAH (1843).

Abdel-Kader not to be Caught—Capture of the Smalah—Bugeaud's Idea—Abdel-Kader Enclosed in a Triangle—Aumale to Seize the Smalah—Fleury's Account—Aumale's Official Report—Abdel-Kader's Account to Daumas—Submission of the Chief of the Ouled-Chail—Made Marshal—Banquet to Bugeaud—Tourist and Officer—The Marshal's General Views on the Army and Colonisation.

IN all parts of Algeria the year 1843 was to be glorious and decisive for our arms. We then occupied all the central places of the Tell, that we had abandoned after the treaty of the Tafna, and all on the coast, according to the map presented, in 1835, by Marshal Clauzel. General Bugeaud had considered necessary, and had effected, as we have seen, the establishment of a second line of forts, intended on one side to control the most distant tribes of the Tell, and on the other to awe those of the Sahara, by at will opening or closing to them the country whence they drew the corn necessary to their existence. The Romans had pursued the same plan, pointed out by nature and observation, and Abdel-Kader, whose keen intelligence divined what we learn by tradition, had the same idea.

Brilliant feats of arms, following upon incessant pursuits, had marked each month of this fruitful year.

General Bugeaud hardly remained in Algiers, but was always campaigning, scouring the country at the head of his troops. Never had the expeditionary columns under his orders, and those of Generals

Lamoricière, Bedeau, and Changarnier, cut deeper furrows in all directions, through the plains inhabited by the Arabs of the tent and the mountainous regions occupied by the Kabyles.

An Arab proverb calls war, 'artifice applied by force.' If the Emir made a practical use of this proverb, his opponent, General Bugeaud, took quite as much advantage of it. Thus, without in any way detracting from the valour, audacity, and coolness of the Duke d'Aumale in the execution, the pursuit, and capture of Abdel-Kader's *smalah*, it was an admirable military conception and wonderful combination of General Bugeaud's. His three little corps d'armée were really acting separately, and not one of them had any certain information as to the real object, the encounter with the *smalah*. General Bugeaud told one of his friends that any previous announcement would have endangered success; 'the shock could not fail to come, when Abdel-Kader was enclosed in a circle or triangle. Napoleon said, "chance was a third part; I allow half." Abdel-Kader keeps us on the alert by his artifices, by his incomparable strategy, by the impossibility of catching him. We must also contend with him by artifices.'

This, then, is the reason why Lamoricière and Bedeau were often fuming against the incomprehensible orders of their chief, for they knew not the real object of their marches and counter-marches. It was through the incomprehensibility of his orders that the great man hoped to be successful, and was successful at that cost.

The *Moniteur Algérien* says:—

H.R.H. the Duke d'Aumale, having placed a *dépôt* of provisions in the ruins of Boghar, advanced into the south of the

Ouarensensis in search of the tents and families of Abdel-Kader and his khalifas. This collection, supposed to amount to about 10,000 persons, makes up what is called the smalah, and is entirely peripatetic. Our Arab allies all say that the capture of the smalah would be a notable blow to Abdel-Kader's power. H.R.H. the Duke d'Aumale has been sent to capture it, but the enterprise is difficult. There must be forced marches upon territories where water is scarce, and crops to feed the animals scarcer still. As much as possible, H.R.H. was provided with the necessary means; but, however active and intelligent he may be, fortune must come to his assistance, to enable him to reach the smalah, as it is so moveable, and kept so well informed by the zeal and devotion of the country.

General Lamoricière\* is upon the Sersou, seconding H.R.H.'s operations.

In fact, after the capture of the Emir's two citadels, Tackdempt and Boghar, Abdel-Kader's smalah had been on the move avoiding the approach of our columns, when General Bugeaud, learning by his spies that the smalah was in the neighbourhood of

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\* Lamoricière, Christophe-Louis-Leon Juchault de, born at Nantes in 1806; died in 1865. On leaving the Ecole Polytechnique and the Practical School at Metz, he entered the Engineers, was engaged in the expedition to Algiers in 1830, and became captain in the newly-raised Zouaves. He was director of the first Arab office, and chef-de-bataillon in 1833, lieutenant-colonel in 1835, colonel after the taking of Constantine in 1837. Made *maréchal-de-camp* after the combat of Mouzaia in 1840; again distinguished himself in the expeditions to Tackdempt and Mascara in 1841, became lieutenant-general in 1843, and was engaged in the battle of Isly in 1844. He was the person employed by the Governor-general to arrange the expedition that resulted in the smalah of Abdel-Kader falling into the hands of the Duke d'Aumale. In 1847 he had the honour of personally receiving the Emir's submission. Having been the year before elected deputy for Saint-Calais, he was at Paris when the Revolution of 1848 broke out. He marched against the insurgents, and was wounded. Representing the Sarthe in the constituent Assembly, he fought in the Faubourg Poissonnière and at the Bastille, then accepted the post of War Minister, and held it till the election of the President. Again elected to the Legislative Assembly, and made Vice-President, he opposed Prince Louis Napoleon's policy. He was arrested at the *coup d'état*, and imprisoned some days at Ham, then banished from French territory. In 1857 he was permitted to return to France, and in 1860 he went to take command of the Pope's troops against the Italian Revolution, was attacked by the Piedmontese Generals Fanti and Cialdini, defeated at Castelfiardo, and obliged to capitulate at Ancona. Author of *Reflections upon the Actual Condition of Algiers*, 1836; *Project of Colonisation for Algiers*, 1845; *Report on Breeding Studs*, 1850.

The name of Lamoricière is to be found on every glorious page of the history of Africa. Marshal Bugeaud's opinion of General Lamoricière will be given below; his brilliant qualities and indomitable bravery cannot erase from memory some feelings of ill-will and jealousy that he displayed towards his chief.

Boghar, suddenly gave orders to General de Lamoricière and the Duke d'Aumale, who commanded at Medeah, for the pursuit of the Emir.

The Duke started from Boghar with thirteen hundred foot, six hundred regular horse, Spahis, chasseurs, and gendarmerie, under the orders of Colonels Yusuf and Morris, and a goum of two to three hundred horse.

Three days afterwards he received information that the smalah was encamped fifteen leagues from Goudjilas. After a fatiguing march of thirty hours, allowing but very little time for sleep, with the horses' bridles over the men's arms, eating biscuit and chocolate so as not to betray his presence by the bivouac fires, he reached an uncultivated country. This was the 16th of May.

In the morning, at daybreak, some stragglers of the smalah were caught; the Prince was misled by the information they gave, and made a reconnoissance towards the south.

It was eleven o'clock when the aga of the Ouled-Ayad, who had been sent on to look for water, came back at a gallop, gesticulating wildly, and pale with excitement, to say that the Emir's whole smalah was just taking up its position at the very springs of the Taguin. The undulations of the ground still hid it, but he said there was a vast crowd to be seen behind the hillock, that alone separated it from the column, and that it was senseless to think for a moment of attacking it.

Colonel Yusuf,\* marching on advanced guard

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\* Yusuf, born on the Island of Elba in 1805; died at Montpellier, in 1866. He was on his way to Florence to be educated, when the vessel he was in was captured by Corsairs from Tunis. The Bey of Tunis bought him, was delighted with his cleverness, and had him brought up in his palace, and placed him in the corps

with his spahis, had received the first report from the Arab Mohammed Ben Ayad, and chose to ascertain for himself the truth of this alarming intelligence he took the aga to the Prince. With his orderly before officer, Lieutenant Fleury, and the aga Mohammed, he went as quickly as possible to the top of the hillock that concealed the smalah from the column.

The Arab had not exaggerated the importance and number of the confused masses that were unfolding themselves quite out of sight. The smalah had just reached the stream of water, and was preparing to encamp. Women, children, guards, cattle, were all mixed up together; and in the midst of this multitude could be distinguished the glitter of the weapons of a number of the Emir's regulars presiding over the encampment. The case was serious; our little column was astonished to find itself in front of a crowd of fifteen or twenty thousand souls, and about five thousand muskets.

of Mamelukes, the leaders of his guard. The young Italian was obliged to make his escape to Algiers, in consequence of a love intrigue with the Bey's daughter. There he took service in our army, under the patronage of Marshal Clauzel, attracted attention by his remarkable ability and bravery, and made himself especially useful by his knowledge of the language and habits of the natives. He was made captain of Spahis, and sent on various difficult duties, took Bona by a daring surprise, when he blew out the brains of two Turkish officers, and made the campaign against Abdel-Kader, near Tlemcen.

He was appointed Bey of Constantine, but did not take up the office; commandant of the Spahis of Oran, then commandant of all the irregular cavalry in 1841; *maréchal-de-camp*, not on the staff. The following year he went to Paris, became a convert to Catholicism, and married General Guilleminot's niece.

We find him commandant of Medeah, after the Duke d'Aumale's departure in 1847. Thence he made the first expeditions south of the province of Algiers, 1851; then placed on the regular staff of the army as general of brigade, he commanded the expedition to Laghouat, and was made grand officer of the Legion of Honour.

He was engaged in the expedition to the Crimea, raised the Bashi-Bazouks, made the campaign in the Dobrutcka, and returned to Africa to command the Algiers division in 1856, as general of division. His last expedition was that to Kabylia. In consequence of differences with Governor-general MacMahon, Yusuf was transferred to the command of the Montpellier division in France, where he died, worn out with disgust and home-sickness for the soil of Africa.

While this reconnoissance was taking place, the Prince had come up with all speed, being informed by one of Yusuf's officers, sub-lieutenant du Barail. The commander of the spahis met him just at the foot of the hillock, not a mile at most from the smalah. He quietly explained the difficulties and gravity of the circumstances, without concealing them. At this moment a kind of improvised council of war was held.

The native chiefs commanding the goum had come up. They advised retreat in haste, before the presence of the column should be discovered. Colonels Yusuf and Morris were of opinion that an attack should be made, but the Prince's aides-de-camp, Colonels Jamin and Beaufort, thought it their duty to make some prudent suggestions, in respect of the responsibility to the King that rested upon them. They vehemently insisted upon the young Prince, at least, awaiting the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel de Chasseloup, with his Zouaves and section of the artillery.

The Prince collected himself a moment after these different opinions, and gave this fine answer :

'Gentlemen, we will go forward! My ancestors have never fallen back; I will not set the example!' And very coolly making his arrangements, the young General gave orders to Yusuf to attack on the left, while he himself would go to the right with Lieutenant-colonel Morris and his Chasseurs d'Afrique, penetrating the centre of the smalah, and cutting the resistance in two.

All in a moment, at sight of our horsemen charging full speed, the women, children, and old men, fled with fearful shrieks. Abdel-Kader's regu-



lars, who endeavoured to cover their flight, were caught and cut down. All these masses, now surprised, were seized with a panic, and in an hour four thousand prisoners, the Emir's treasure, his tents, his standards, and the families of all the great chiefs, were in the power of our cavalry. The mother and wife of Abdel-Kader were made prisoners for a moment, but they were saved by a faithful slave, and in the confusion escaped upon a mule.

It is difficult to form a just idea of this combat of a handful of brave men, where there were prodigies of individual bravery, where six hundred determined men overthrew more than five thousand armed guards, killed three hundred of them, and spared the lives of a vast unarmed crowd.

Respecting the capture of the smalah, the Republican Colonel Charras, who was no bad judge of courage, thus spoke :—

A man must be three-and-twenty to do like the Duke d'Aumale, and attack such a crowd with five hundred men ; he must not know what danger means, or else have a very devil within him ! The very women need only have stretched out their tent-ropes in front of the horses to have thrown them down, or have flung their slippers at the heads of the soldiers, to have killed them all from the first to the last.

Some months ago I chanced to meet an old Algerian, General Fleury, and took advantage of it to obtain some fresh information from him as to the capture of the smalah. The General gave me such a picturesque and exciting account of this brilliant feat of arms, in which he had taken part by the side of his friend Colonel Yusuf, that I was much impressed by it. I wrote it down as soon as I returned home, and can give it almost word for word as I remember it.

The General said :—

As far as I can remember, it occurred thus : On the 16th of May, Yusuf, who was the soul of the expedition, had gone far in advance of the cavalry, so as to be the first to receive the accounts of his runners, and forward them to the Prince. For about an hour past we had been puzzled by a cloud of dust that rose in the distance, when a horseman, hitherto concealed from us by an undulation of the ground—an effect of southern mirage—rose before us, rushing to meet us at the best pace he could go, excited, pale, and like one haunted by a dream.

‘Fly! fly!’ he said, ‘while you can. They are there, all close, behind the hill.’ And he pointed in the direction. ‘They are coming to camp upon the Taguin. If they see you, you are lost! They are sixty thousand, and with their sticks alone could kill you like hunted hares. Not one of you would get back to Medeah to tell the tale of your disaster.’

Yusuf, accustomed to the excitable disposition of the Arabs, said, ‘Come, keep quiet, and tell me exactly what you saw.’ And when he had again heard what was the case, with less excitement and more precision, he turned to me : ‘We will leave the escort, and go and see for ourselves; while you, Barail, go and inform the Prince of what is going on, and ask him to come on at a gallop.’

Then we went off like lightning, only followed by the Arab runner, keeping apart so that we might not raise the dust, and thus we reached the top of the hillock in a few minutes, like three ghosts.

There lay a most exciting spectacle before us at our feet. The real danger had not been exaggerated by Mohammed Ben Ayad. The smalah had really just reached the stream, and was arranging the encampment. Women, children, guards, muleteers, cattle, were all in confusion, and we could hear the shouts and lowing of this mixed multitude. With the glass we could see the arms of the Emir's regulars, presiding over the arrangement of the camp. A few white tents had but just been set up, to shelter the women of Abdel-Kader, or the great chiefs. Everything was fermenting like a hive. Thousands of camels and mules were waiting, still loaded. Such as were relieved of their burden were straggling along the green banks of the little river. There were also innumerable flocks of sheep and goats to increase this gigantic disorder. All these thirsty beings seemed as if they must dry up the precious thread of water that wound its way through the turmoil.

‘He is right,’ said Yusuf, when we had looked at this inimitable panorama : ‘Ben Ayad told the truth. There is not a moment to lose! Come!’ And we went back as quick as we had come to meet the Prince, now much nearer.

As soon as we joined him the Duke stopped, and a council of war was held by the native chiefs and the French. The native chiefs were unanimous in their opinion, and entreated the General to stop, saying it would be madness to go on. The Prince listened to his cavalry leader's report, and then very quietly asked him, 'What is your opinion?' 'My opinion,' answered Yusuf, 'is that we must attack at once, if we do not want to be crushed by a very numerous enemy, who may at any moment discover us; but I ought not to conceal from your Royal Highness that the undertaking presents serious difficulties.'

Colonel Morris was asked, and gave the same answer, boldly advising the attack. 'I am entirely of your opinion,' said the Duke d'Aumale, 'we will go forward.' Then he turned to his two aides-de-camp, Colonels Jamin and Beaufort, 'Desire the infantry to hasten their march to support us,' and at the same time gave his orders to Colonels Yusuf and Morris, just as if it was a parade.

As we were all going to our fighting posts, Colonel Beaufort said, 'Monseigneur, Colonel Jamin and I are here responsible to the King, and appointed to watch over your Royal Highness. Allow us to point out to you that the infantry is still at a distance, wearied by the forced marches of these last few days, and that it would be prudent to wait till at least Colonel Chasseloup's Zouaves and artillery are in reach.' The Prince replied, 'The infantry is sent for, and will make an effort; but the hazardous situation you point out is exactly what makes it necessary for us to go forward. My ancestors have never retreated, and I will not set the example,' said the young Duke. At this moment he took his place among the generals of the future.

In Marshal Saint-Arnaud's letters we find observations on the capture of the smalah:—'The Prince made thirty leagues in thirty-six hours, and his infantry was more than nine leagues behind him, when he saw this immense multitude before him, and attacked without hesitation. It was good, it was brave, it was brilliant!

\* \* \* \* \*

'We had twelve men killed and sixteen wounded.

\* \* \* \* \*

'I cannot say how pleased I am at the Prince's

having gained this success. It is a good augury. There is promise for the future in this trait of character.'

The Duke d'Aumale's official report, addressed to General de Bar, his divisional commander, dated May 20th, 1843, gives this information :—

\* \* \* \* \*

On the night of the 14th we caught some persons in the woods, and heard from them that the enemy had gone towards Taguin, on their way to the Djebel Amour. I also heard that General Lamoricière was a few leagues off to the south-west, and that his presence had caused this sudden movement. The Emir was watching him with 250 horse, that he might put the smalah in safety, not fearing the eastern column, as he thought it had returned to Boghar.

This information left me only one course to adopt, and that was to reach Taguin, to catch the smalah if it was there, or to stop its road to the east, and compel it to retire upon the Djebel Amour, where it would be caught between the two columns of Mascara and Medeah, and find difficulty in escaping, for in these extensive plains, where water is scarce, the roads are marked by the precious springs that are to be found. . . . One tract had to be crossed where there was not a drop of water to be found for twenty leagues. But I reckoned on the energy of the troops, and the result proves I was not mistaken.

I divided the column in two, one part essentially moveable, the cavalry, the artillery, and the Zouaves, with 150 mules, to carry packs and tired men; the other composed of two battalions and fifty horse, was to escort the train under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Chadeyson, all to rendezvous at Ras-el-ain-end-Taguin.

On the 16th, at daybreak, we had met some stragglers from the smalah. From the inaccurate information that they gave I made a reconnaissance four leagues direct to the south without result. Fearing that the horses would be uselessly tired, I adhered to my former plan, and again took the direction of Taguin, where the column was to unite.

We had no further hope of meeting the enemy that day, when about eleven o'clock, the aga of the Ouled Aïad sent on to ascertain the position of the water, came back at a gallop with the information that the whole smalah, about 300 douairs, had taken up its position on the very spring of the Taguin.

We were not more than a thousand mètres from them, and they had scarcely noticed our approach. There was no room for hesi-

tation; the Zouaves were being rapidly brought up by Lieutenant-colonel Chasseloup, with Dr. Beuret's ambulance, and Captain Aubac's artillery, but with all their energy could not arrive before two; and in another half-hour the women and cattle would be out of reach. The numerous fighting-men in this city of tents would have had time to unite and make arrangements; success would have become unlikely, and our situation very critical. And so I decided upon an immediate attack against the entreaties of the Arabs, who begged me to wait for the infantry, looking to our small numbers, and the enemy's immense force.

The cavalry form line, and rush to the charge, with the impetuosity that is the distinctive feature of our national character, and does not permit a moment's doubt of success. On the left the spahis, led by their brave officers, attack Abdel-Kader's douair, and overthrow the regular infantry, though they defended themselves with the courage of despair. On the right the Chasseurs make their way between the tents under a sharp fire of musketry, overturn everything in their way, and head back the fugitives, whom many brave cavaliers are vainly trying to rescue. Here, General, my task becomes more difficult. You ought to be told of a thousand acts of daring, a thousand brilliant episodes of this hand-to-hand encounter, that lasted more than an hour. Officers and men rivalled one another, and multiplied themselves to disperse an enemy so superior in number. We were only 500 men; there were 5000 muskets in the smalah. Only combatants were killed; and 300 bodies remained on the spot. When the crowds of prisoners saw our squadrons return from pursuing the enemy's horse to a distance, they asked to see their conquerors, and could not believe that this handful of men had scattered the immense force, whose reputation, both moral and real, was so great among the tribes.

We had nine men killed and twelve wounded, sixteen horses killed and twelve wounded.

You know, General, Colonel Yusuf and Lieutenant-colonel Morris. You know their brilliant courage and military ability; but I do not hesitate to tell you that this day they surpassed their reputation.

About four, after a splendid march, thirty leagues in thirty-six hours, the infantry arrived, weary, but in good order, not having left a man or a mule behind. Thanks to some skins I had caused to be filled with water, it had been possible to distribute some in the morning, so as to quench the soldiers' thirst a little. The Lieutenant-colonel led his column with an energy that he managed to communicate to every one, and deserves great praise.

On the 17th I remained stationary. The cattle were collected, the tents were burnt, and all the booty that could not be carried away.

Next day I moved off. Our march was slow and difficult; our stages, marked by water, are long. We are only 1800 fighting men, and we have to drive the cattle and keep a force in readiness to repulse an attack, that must be expected, and becomes more likely every day, for since the 16th we have not burnt priming. We have to escort a large population that have fallen into our power, and I am taking them to the Mitidjah, where you can dispose of them; they chiefly belong to the tribe of Hachem, among which Abdel-Kader was born, whom he had lately brought away from the plain of Ehgris; they came to beg my mercy two days after the fight; but we are every day finding important personages, more or less strangers to that tribe.

I send you a list of those already recognised; you will notice among them the whole families, men and women, of the Khalifa Sidi-Embareck; of Jacoubi, Abdel-Kader's first minister; of Bel Azzi, his intimate adviser, a nephew of the Emir, the daughter of Ben Aratch, several Government servants, officers and soldiers of the regular troops. Abdel-Kader's mother and wife escaped upon a mule, escorted by a few riders, whom our exhausted horses could not catch.

The happy end of this operation—that the Arabs thought could not possibly succeed—has already made a great sensation. Already Djeddid, of the Ouled-Chaib, Djeboul-den-Ferath, and Ben Aouda-el-Moktari, who were all three in the Emir's camp, and are, as you know, chiefs of the grandest families in the country to the South of Thaza and Boghar, as far as Beni-Massar, have sent their relations to beg for mercy and profess their submission.

I send you Djeddid's letter, as its form is interesting. In two days we shall be at Boghar, and if I do not receive fresh orders, our little column will conduct its prize into the Mitidjah, where I shall have the honour to present you with the standards and trophies captured by our brave soldiers.

Receive, &c.,

Maréchal-de-camp, commanding the province of Tityr,

HENRI DE ORLEANS.

When General Daumas was in attendance upon Abdel-Kader at Toulon, the Emir gave him an account of this event, and the notes that he took seem very interesting. The definition of a *smalah* will be found in it. It is a word that has no French equivalent, but may be thus defined: a large assembly of individuals for the purpose of locomotion, the Latin *agmen*.

When my smalah was attacked by the Duke d'Aumale, I estimate the population composing it at not less than 60,000 souls; not the tenth part of them were captured.

I had with me the whole of the tribes of the Hachem, the Beni-Median, the Oulad-Cherif, the Oulad-el-Akreud, the Beni Lent, &c., &c. And, more than that, portions of almost all the tribes that had submitted to you. These portions were composed of Marabouts, and Tholbas (chiefs), who did not choose to live under your laws. They were very useful to me, for they had all been influential in their country, kept up communications, and obtained for me information of all your movements.

This multitude extended from Taguin as far as the Djebel Amour. When an Arab had missed his family among them it would sometimes take him two days to find it again, and if a herd of gazelles rose before them it was all killed without need of firing a gun, by the common men's sticks alone. Where we camped we dried up the brooks, the wells, and the pools. So I had carefully arranged a service, to watch over the water, and prevent the herds from soiling or wasting it. In spite of all these precautions much people died of thirst.

My smalah contained armourers, saddlers, tailors, all the tradesmen necessary to our organization. There was an immense market held in it, frequented by the Arabs from the border of the Tell. As for corn, it was either brought us, or we went to fetch a store from the northern tribes.

The encampment order of the tribes was perfectly fixed. When I had set up my tent everyone knew the place he should occupy. Around me and my family and my little treasure I had always 300 or 400 regular foot-soldiers, my Khialas, and then the Hachem of Ehgris, who were more devoted to me than any others. By this you see that it would not have been easy to reach me; not that I took these precautions from a feeling of cruelty, but because I felt that I was necessary to accomplish the work of God, for I was the arm that carried His banner. I had taught my men the good practice of going to watch you, where you were, instead of guarding themselves in the neighbourhood of the smalah. I was myself near Tackdempt, watching the Oran division, which was in the neighbourhood, and I thought I had most reason to fear. I had 1500 or 1600 horse with me, and thought I had no reason to be uneasy as to the side of Medeah, and none of my Khalifas was watching the King's son.

Notwithstanding this, we should not have been surprised, had not God blinded my people. Why! when your spahis were seen coming with their red burnous, it was thought in the smalah that they were my khialas coming back with me. The women shouted for joy in our honour, and were not undeceived till the first shots were fired.

There was then an inexpressible confusion that frustrated the efforts of those who wished to defend themselves. If I had been there, we should have fought for our wives and children, and beyond a doubt you would have seen a great day. But God did not will it. I did not hear of this misfortune till three days afterwards. It was too late.

Some fugitives having told General Lamoricière of the capture of the smalah, he proceeded in the direction pointed out as that which the remnant of the smalah were likely to pursue, and he came up with the fugitives thinking that Abdel-Kader was among them.

This population of 2500 souls, destitute of everything and dying of famine, implored the conqueror's generosity. Lamoricière had pity on them; they were led back to the plain of Ehgris, and all their needs provided for. The capture of the smalah cost us the death of the oldest and most faithful of our allies. On his return to Oran, Mustapha Ben Ismael, chief of the Douairs and Smelas, fell into an ambush and was killed. After the capture of the smalah, several tribes sent in their submission to the son of the King of France, and the letter of one of the most important chiefs shows how much their resistance was caused by dread of the Emir.

The Governor-general addressed a most congratulatory letter to his young lieutenant, begging him also not to return to Algiers till the conclusion of the campaign. Also, on the 15th of July, we find a letter to Madame Bugeaud, in which he says :

Letters show me plainly enough that the Government would not be willing to give me leave in the midst of this decisive state of things. I may add that the army and the people express the same wish, and I feel myself that I am risking my undertaking if I leave it at this moment. You must then, my love, bravely take your part, and decide if our daughter's marriage is to take place without me.

After all, if you are quite determined for me to be present at the marriage, you must meet me at Algiers in the last fortnight of September. Or I will go myself to Périgord, for I have been told



that I shall have the leave I want a little later. I also am quite determined, I take my oath to you, to request my final recall, if in a month from this time I am not Marshal of France; but everything seems to make it probable that I shall be. If this is the case, why should not you come and spend the winter with me, since the climate agrees with Léonie? It will be the last for you to spend in Africa. I leave you quite free choice. If you do not come, I will come to you, I swear it; but let me entirely decide this great work. I will not say finish it, but put it in such a state that it will not go back, and there will be nothing to do but to put a finish on the work.

Adieu, my dear souls.

BUGEAUD.

An order to the army, dated 19th of July, announced that H.R.H. the Duke d'Aumale was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-general.

A few days afterwards, on the 31st of July, General Bugeaud was raised to the dignity of a Marshal of France.

Three months before, by order bearing date 9th of April, General Bugeaud had been appointed to the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, and his two lieutenants, Changarnier\* and Lamoricière, made Lieutenant-generals.

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\* Changarnier, Nicholas-Anne-Théodule, born at Autun, Saone et Loire, on the 26th of April, 1793, left Saint-Cyr in 1815, with sub-lieutenant's rank, and was placed in one of the privileged companies of Louis XVIII.'s body-guard. He obtained his Lieutenancy in the 60th of the line, made the campaign of 1823 in Spain, and became Captain 9th of October, 1825. In 1830 he was in the 1st regiment of the King's Guard. Reinstated in his rank he was sent to Africa and distinguished himself by a series of remarkably vigorous actions. He was engaged in the expedition to Mascara. Chef-de-bataillon 31st December, 1835, he became famous for his heroism with the 2nd light, who always made head against the enemy as rear-guard during the disastrous retreat from the first expedition to Constantine, and may be said to have saved the army. He was made Lieutenant-colonel in 1837.

Colonel of the 2nd light after the expedition to the Iron Gates in 1839, he was made *Maréchal-de-camp* after the expedition to Medeah, where he received a severe wound, and of the fight on the Chélif, 21st June, 1840. General of Division 1843, he then returned to France. In 1847 he was sent to command the division of Algiers. When the Duke d'Aumale left the colony to go into exile he handed over the government of the colony to Changarnier, who, after the 24th of February, 1848, returned to France and offered his services to the Republican Government.

On the 20th of September the Duke d'Aumale returned to Algiers after a short stay in France, and the Marshal came from Oran to meet him. The young hero of the *smalah* was enthusiastically received, and a banquet was given to him and the newly appointed Marshal by the chiefs of the civil population.

In replying when his health was drunk, the Marshal said that he considered he could most promote colonisation by establishing security, that the army could only be reduced if a force were provided by military colonies attached to the spot; and in giving thanks for the health of the army he said:

Gentlemen, the army will not lay down its sword as you have just advised, but will hold it in one hand, and work with the other; will keep it always displayed to the Arabs, *always*, observe the word,

Lamartine appointed him ambassador to Berlin, but he preferred to remain at Paris, and assisted in the restoration of order at the revolutionary manifestation of the 16th of April. In the month of May he went to Algiers to relieve General Cavaignac, who had a seat in the Constituent Assembly. In the elections of the 4th of June, he was himself elected a representative of the people for the department of the Seine. When General Cavaignac had become chief of the executive power, he entrusted the command of the National Guard of Paris to Changarnier, who held it after the election of Prince Louis Napoleon as President, and even on two occasions, 9th of January, and 14th of June, 1849, held also the command of the troops at Paris, then amounting to 100,000 men.

General Changarnier held a most important place in politics, but having taken part against Prince Louis Napoleon's Government, he found himself arrested on the morning of the 2nd of December, and then sent out of France by the decree of the 9th of January, 1852. After that he resided in Belgium, refusing to take advantage of the permission given him to return to his country.

On the declaration of war against Prussia, July, 1870, he offered his services to the government of his country, and accompanied the Emperor, Napoleon III., to Metz. Prisoner of war in Germany, Changarnier returned after the armistice, and was elected as representative to the National Assembly for several departments. He died at Paris in 1880.

On the 24th of May, 1873, when M. Thiers, the President of the Republic, was defeated in the Chamber, General Changarnier was very nearly being invested with the office. The Bonapartists had the fatal notion of putting up Marshal MacMahon, and so the republic was saved and secured. It is now stated, that according to the very evident wish of the Chambers and of the country, the republic would very soon have disappeared, if instead of selecting the Duke de Magenta, the Deputies had appealed to the patriotism and decision of General Changarnier.

It is said Changarnier always put on a new pair of white kid gloves for going into action.—Ed.

for it cannot be laid down without risk. Your existence depends upon the sword; a warlike people cannot be influenced, or a portion of their land seized and kept, without keeping the sword in sight after it has been bravely used.

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There are three columns in the *Moniteur Algérien* of the 25th of December, 1843, which give the Marshal's views under the signature of 'A Tourist.' The subject is the necessity of razzias, which had horrified the tourist, who is conversing with an agreeable officer whom he had chanced to meet when travelling.

The tourist asks whether the Arabs would not have respected a definite boundary, and the officer replies, 'That was tried by the treaty of the Tafna; they came into our towns, saw our power and civilisation, but that did not prevent their making a general attack in 1839, and murdering 250 soldiers and colonists in one day, and thenceforward the war had gone on continuously.

*Tourist.*—I see the war was necessary, but could not the same results be obtained without these barbarous razzias that are condemned by all the philanthropic and all the merciful minds of France?

*Officer.*—The philanthropists and merciful men, not confounding them, are equally mistaken. What is war in Europe and everywhere? Is it the destruction of the belligerent armies? No, it is an attack upon the interests of the people. What is done after winning battles? Why, the great towns are seized, the centres of population and commerce, the navigation of rivers, and the great roads; in the next war the railways will be seized.

War is made and nations compelled to capitulate by seizing upon these great interests. . . . The agricultural interest, though neglected in Europe, is the only one that can be injured in Africa; it is harder to get hold of in Africa than anywhere else, for there are no farms or villages among the Arabs. This people live in their tents, and all their moveable wealth can be placed on the beasts of burden that they possess. . . . As soon as our columns moved there was desolation before us, the villagers mounted upon camels, mules, and bullocks, and fled away with their wives and children. There was nothing left for us to make war upon but the harvests at their ripening. . . . It took us a long time to find out how to

reach these fugitive populations, but at last we have managed it, and from that moment you might see the progress of pacification. It is therefore to the razzia, at which you shudder, that we owe all our progress, and especially the security that has allowed you to visit such a large part of Algeria in peace.

When General Bugeaud penned these lines he never supposed it would be possible to obtain any indemnity from rebellious Arabs but cattle or corn. But thirty years after, Vice-admiral the Comte de Gueydon, in 1870, obtained a considerable money fine from the revolted Kabyles. He did more for the colony in three years than all Napoleon III.'s governors had done. After the fall of the Empire and the Prussian invasion, our African colony was almost lost. Revolt ran like a flame in a train of powder through all the three provinces. The hateful and idiotic decrees of Crémieux, giving to the native Jews equal rights with the French, and to the civil and radical element, full power over the Governor, completed the disorder. But for the energy of some generals who hurried from France our colony was lost. Massacres, burnings, and pillage took place up to the gates of Algiers.

When the revolt was put down, as soon as Governor-general de Gueydon had landed, he considered how to make the Kabyles pay some of the cost of the war. He called the council and asked what the indemnity should be. They smiled and said the Arabs had nothing. The Admiral sent for the chief of the customs, studied the books with him all night, and next day told the council he required ten millions of francs from the Kabyles, and would have them in a fortnight. And so he did. The Kabyles, rather than have their fields ravaged, brought the savings the Admiral had calculated on

from observations on the export of cattle and goods of all kinds, and paid in 5-franc pieces of Louis-Philippe and Napoleon III. A second contribution exceeded 25 millions, and besides they ransomed forfeited lands so that more than 60 millions were got for the colonial chest.

Prejudices are strange things. There was an outcry against the *razzia* ; and yet in Europe it is quite natural to starve and bombard a town, and when non-combatants, women, and children, innocent victims of war, wish to leave the place or are thrust out lest they consume too much, the attacking force drives them back. The *razzia* is much less cruel. There is no murdering of women and children with shells, as in Europe. The captured are fed and cared for, and when the tribe has capitulated and given security, are restored.

## CHAPTER VI.

### DELLYS AND BISKRA (1843-44).

Just annoyance of the new Marshal—Guizot's Opinion—Harrispe's Letter—The Emir again in the South—Engagement with Lamoricière—Tempoure's Success—Death of Ben-Allal-Sidi-Embareck—Abdel-Kader's Overtures to the Emperor of Morocco—Secret Overtures to the Emir—Expedition to the Ziban—Attack 15th of March—General Marey at El Aghouat—Sudden departure of the Marshal for the frontier of Morocco.

ON the 31st of July General Bugeaud had been made Marshal. M. Guizot says in his *Memoirs*, 'Either through some strange mistake in his expression, or through haughty rudeness, Marshal Soult, when informing Bugeaud that he would speedily be raised to that rank, added, "His Majesty nevertheless adds a *condition*, for the sake of the good of the service and your own glory, that you should continue to exercise your double functions of Governor-general and Commander-in-chief of the army in Africa for a year, and that for so long you should give up your intention of returning to France, even on leave, in order that the direction of the war and the government may remain long enough in your hands for you to be able to complete what you have so ably begun." This word *condition* had greatly vexed the new-made Marshal.

'I should think it is the first time,' he wrote to M. Guizot, 'that such a thing has been done. You can judge whether I was too much annoyed. I send you a copy of the passage in Marshal Soult's letter and of my reply.'

M. Guizot adds, 'His reply was becoming and severe. It is easy to see the difficulties that arise in business from want of tact and delicacy in handling matters.'

In fact, it was only under a good deal of pressure from M. Guizot and the King that the Marshal decided to remain in Algeria. He wished to leave the Governor-generalship in the hands of the Duke d'Aumale, if necessary, with the style of temporary governor. The King, very prudently, would not relieve the new Marshal of his command. He said familiarly,—

Algeria is a heavy burden no doubt. The good Marshal would like very well to put it upon other hands, and give it over to Aumale. But it is too soon. He must stay longer in Africa. When he is just made Marshal, he cannot, in all conscience, throw up his hand and get away from the difficulty. With his fixed idea of retirement, he reminds me of a little character in one of Scarron's comedies, Jacques d'Arimathie, I think, carrying about a baby in his arms, vainly trying to get rid of it, running about all over the stage and offering it to every one he meets. Our infant, Algeria, is in very good hands where it is, the Marshal's hands, and he must make up his mind to keep it.

One of the letters received by Bugeaud on his elevation to the rank of Marshal, was the cause of a most charming manifestation of delight which was lately described by an eye-witness. 'The congratulations came from his old chief in Spain, General Harispe, still in 1843 not a marshal. Marshal Bugeaud quickly read through the letter from the old Peninsular soldier felicitating his former officer and expressing most kind admiration, then he sprang up and seizing a pen, wrote a few words and read them aloud to us so that they made our eyes fill with tears.

'You, my General, you! to talk to me of respect and admiration.

You who made me what I am, without whom I should be nothing! You to whom I owe everything I know, and the little I am worth! Oh, no, this word respect should never be applied by you to me!"\*

Some report of an attack of the Emir on Lamoricière in the province of Oran, now caused the Governor-general to hasten thither. Just at the end of August 1843, our indefatigable adversary had thrown himself upon those southern tribes of Oran who had submitted to us. All our first line was immediately put in motion. On the 26th, Lamoricière had some success at Oued-Bourbour. After a forced march of ten leagues, in fearful heat, Colonel de Bourgon attacked the camp just as it was being struck; killed forty, took twelve prisoners, captured sixty camels, and a quantity of wheat, barley, and gunpowder.

On the 22nd of September, a more serious engagement took place between Lamoricière and the Emir. We had twelve killed and fifteen wounded; on the Arab side was ascertained the death of Abdel-Baki, Abdel-Kader's lieutenant. He himself fled westwards.

It was in this combat that occurred the instance of devotion by the brave trumpeter Escoffier, that

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\* Harispe, Jean-Isidore, born in 1768 at Saint-Etienne de Bigorre, Basses Pyrenees, died in 1855, began his military career in 1792, a captain of a free company of Basque chasseurs, won the rank of chief of brigade by his gallantry in the war with Spain in 1793, took part in the operations that were carried on in the Grisons in 1800, then joined the army of Italy in Moncey's division. Colonel in 1802 he was distinguished at the battle of Jena in 1807. General of brigade the same year, he was wounded at Friedland, then went into Spain as Chief of the Staff under Marshal Moncey, was distinguished at Tudela, and the siege of Saragossa. He was made General of Division in 1810, and took an important part in the sieges of Lerida and Tarragona; made Count of the Empire in 1813. Under Soult's orders he fought bravely in defence of the French territory invaded in 1814. He became unattached at the Restoration, and retired in 1825. Again on the active list in 1830 he was appointed Commander of the Hautes and Basses Pyrenees, Inspector-General of Infantry, and Peer of France in 1835. The Emperor, Napoleon III., gave him the Marshal's baton in 1861.



Parisians may remember was rewarded afterwards by the place of keeper of the Tuileries gardens. He gave his horse to his captain who was dismounted, telling him, 'You had better take it than I, captain; for you can rally the squadron, and I cannot.' In a moment he was taken prisoner. The King gave him his nomination to the Legion of Honour without waiting for his release.

M. Léon Roches gives the curious information, that the Emir, wishing to rival his enemies in magnanimity, having been informed of this, presented his prisoner with the cross of the Legion before a grand parade of his troops.

The Marshal proceeded to Milianah, met the column from Orléansville upon the Chélif, and was obliged to return to Algiers by sudden illness. When he had recovered he immediately returned to the west, and, travelling to Mascara in November and Tlemcen in December, was received and fêted all along the road by the Arabs, as Abdel-Kader would formerly have been.

On the 11th of November, General Tempoure gained a more important advantage than any other in the campaign. Starting from Mascara, Tempoure had gone in pursuit of the remains of Abdel-Kader's infantry, led by Khalifa - Ben - Allal - Ouled - Sidi - Embarek. On the 9th of November, in the evening, the General found he was three days' march from the enemy, and must catch them by superior speed.

The rain was falling violently, but the wet ground obstructed the flight more than the pursuit. After a night march, he came upon the enemy's outposts on the Oued Kacheba, with the watch-fires

still burning, and then to their camp on the Oued Malah.

Eight squadrons were sent forward, two-and-two, under Colonel Tartas ; the infantry to follow at the double.

Ben Allal's troops, in two close columns, with standards at their heads, stood firm and bravely awaited the charge ; the cavalry rushed upon them with perfectly French fury, broke them, took the standards, and cut them all down. The carnage only ceased upon our infantry coming up and receiving prisoners.

Ben Allal attempted to escape, and had reached the rocky slopes ; Captain Cassaignolles, of the Spahis, not knowing him but thinking he was a chief, pressed on in pursuit, two corporals of the second Chasseurs and a troop-sergeant of the Spahis followed him. Ben Allal, surrounded by four enemies, held out the butt of his gun to Corporal Labossay, and then, quick as lightning, turned the muzzle to the corporal's breast and laid him dead at his feet. With his first pistol-shot, Ben Allal, killed the captain's horse, with the second he slightly wounded Sergeant Sicot, of the Spahis, who had given him a sword-cut on the head. Ben Allal, having no more shots, defended himself with his empty gun, when Corporal Gerard shot him in the breast with a pistol and put an end to the struggle. Ben Allal died like a hero.

Captain Cassaignolles was still ignorant of his enemy's name, but had observed his courage, coolness, and dexterity in the use of his arms. A well-known mark put an end to the doubt, the Arab had but one eye ; he could be no one but Ben-Allal-Ouled-Sidi-

Embarek, former bey of Milianah. His head was taken to the General.

Ben Allal had under his orders the remains of the battalions of Medeah and Milianah, about 700 men, 40 to 50 men of the Mascara battalion, 150 dismounted horse, about 20 schiafs (officers without troops).

The results of the combat were 404 regulars, 20 of them officers, killed ; 364 prisoners, 13 of them officers, 3 standards, 600 muskets. Of the prisoners 104 were seriously wounded.

The loss of the French was only Corporal Labossay, killed ; and 8 chasseurs seriously wounded.

The three standards and the head of Sidi-Embarek were sent to the Governor-general at Algiers. And several officers were mentioned in the despatch.

On the road between the scene of the action and Oran, the people crowded to see the formidable chief's head.

Whatever repugnance we may feel, says the *Moniteur Algérien*, to this barbarous practice, the incredulity of the Arabs is so great that it was necessary to show them this irrefragable proof that the warrior marabout, who had so much influence over them, was dead.

Ben Allal was Abdel-Kader's closest adviser, his real man of war, the most important personage next to himself, and our most determined enemy. The Marshal ordered the remains of the ex-khalifa of Milianah to be taken to that city and exposed for three days in the sight of his former subjects. After that the body was to be delivered to our Khalifa, Sid-Ali-Ouled-Sidi-Embarek, his nearest relation ; who had it carried to Coleah to the family burial-place.

The Marshal desired that this ceremony should take place with all the solemnity due to the personage's

rank, and military honours paid him as to a French superior officer to do homage to the bravery of a conquered enemy. Thus, knowing the Arabs well by this time, he made a double appeal to their imagination ; first, by exposing the head of their former chief to their gaze, and afterwards by honouring his memory with obsequies worthy of a hero.

The Emir, whose mind was of high mettle, would not allow himself to be depressed by the blow that had overthrown his first lieutenant and destroyed almost all his infantry. Two days after the catastrophe of Oued Malah (salt river), he had come to the field strewn with his soldiers' bodies, and paid them the last honours. From there he went towards his deira, situated near the western extremity of the Chott-el-Garbi (western swamps), at a place called Gredir, more than forty leagues south-west of Tlemcen, on the undetermined territory of tribes who are neither Moors nor Algerians.

One of these frontier tribes, the Hamianas, was then at war with Morocco. Abdel-Kader made a razzia upon them at the head of horsemen from the neighbouring tribes ; and sent fifty prisoners in chains to Ouchda as revolted subjects. No doubt this was to conciliate the authorities of an empire where he was afterwards to seek assistance.

The *Official Journal* several times mentions supposed proofs of the exhaustion of Abdel-Kader's resources. The Marshal also writes to the Duke d'Aumale on 21st January, 1844 :—

Abdel-Kader is in a small chain of mountains, three days' journey south-west of Tlemcen. He has four or five hundred horsemen, sick or well ; and he can collect five or six hundred more to make a razzia, among the tribes that remain faithful to him upon this extreme frontier. His deira is forty leagues further off in the same

direction, but in a nearly neutral territory, although opposite Morocco. The Emir has sent an embassy to the Emperor, Muley-Abder-Rahman, composed of Berkani, Miloud-Ben-Arach, and Tefanchi. They put a report in circulation that the Emperor is sending them to France, with a letter requiring the King to make peace with his khalifa, Hadj-Abdel-Kader, who has, it seems, done homage to the Emperor, and placed himself completely under his protection. He is writing in every direction to say that he will have peace for a year, and resume his estates. These reports have caused some anxiety upon the frontier, and the Ouled-Ouriech, who dwell eight leagues south of Tlemcen, have deserted.

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For two months Abdel-Kader has made no military movements; but he has not been inactive in diplomacy and intrigue. He is anxiously begging for help from Morocco, and I think he has received some secretly. He is writing to all parts of Algeria to foment insurrection, and compromise our Arab chiefs. No one can be more active or persevering than that man.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Marshal endeavoured to take advantage of this distress. As we know, he had by him the interpreter Roches, who thoroughly knew Mahometans in general, and Abdel-Kader in particular, for he had lived with him two years at Mascara, after the treaty of the Tafna. M. Roches was therefore desired to sound Abdel-Kader, and offer him a retirement into the holy land of Mecca, with all honours, and a large pension secured by France. Singular conjunction! This proposal, made in 1843, was no other than that realised in 1852 by the retirement of the Emir to Damascus.

A secret correspondence, which we are enabled to give, was exchanged. There is remarkable dignity in the replies of the Emir, who, notwithstanding his almost desperate situation, claims to some extent the execution or the renewal of the treaty of the Tafna.

OMAR, Son of ROCHES, to the EMIR ABDEL-KADER.

I have received the letter brought me by Kaddour ; in it you inform me that you have already replied to that I had written to you from Tlemcen, and sent by the negro of El-Kharroubi. I have received no information as to this missive, and am sorry for it. However, I understood from your last words that your mind was not yet enlightened as to the facts that are every day being accomplished, and that you are still cherishing hopes that repose upon anything but a firm basis. . . . If you understand properly what Kaddour will tell you, that will be enough to give you a notion of the strength and intentions of France in this country.

\* \* \* \* \*

You tell me you will accept any proposal not contrary to your religion. . . . If nothing is more desirable for every good Mahometan than the power of going on pilgrimage to Mecca, what should be the happiness of living in the country where God caused Mahomet to be born, and daily to visit the temple of the Lord and the tomb of His Prophet? The King of France will allow you to retire thither, you and your family, and all your warriors whom you choose, to the number of a hundred. Those of your army who do not go with you shall receive mercy (aman), and be received into their tribes. Every year you shall receive from the King's consul a sum royally sufficient for all your needs, and all theirs, and make you able to do good and give alms to the wretched of your religion.

\* \* \* \* \*

To sum up: you have two roads before you, One, straight and laid with sand, leads you to the end of your career, causing your name to be blest by Mahometans, and honoured by Christians. The other, winding and strewn with rocks, that will lead you to an undistinguished death, and make your memory abhorred by the Mahometans, whose ruin you have caused, and the French, whose generosity you could not appreciate.

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(Motto on the seal: 'He who puts his faith in the Merciful.')

OMAR, Son of ROCHES, in the year 1258.

ABDEL-KADER to OMAR, Son of ROCHES.

Praise to God !

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I am far from refusing what might be useful to the servants of God, and would do all in my power to obtain happiness and peace for them, as far as is compatible with our religion and the rules laid down in our holy books. If even beyond these rules, arrangements

were proposed to me, not forbidden by our law, and our habits, I could still accept them.

But the proposals you make me, with a promise that they shall be ratified by Marshal Bugeaud, are really very far from reasonable, especially coming from you, who are a sensible man.

How could you, who are like my son, and say you are guided by sincere friendship in doing this, how could you imagine that I should accept as a favour a refuge that it is in my power to reach with my own strength, and the assistance of the faithful who are still around me?

Let the Frenchman not despise my weakness, for the gnat can blind the lion. And let him not glory in his success, for after success the greatest checks are to be feared.

I know my creed perfectly, and am well aware that one hour spent in fighting the infidel is better for my salvation than seventy years spent at Mecca. When you tell me that I may very likely encounter a fate like that of my brother and my friend, Sidi-Mohammed Ben-Allah, very far from dreading this fate, I pray to God that it may sooner or later befall me and all Mahometans.

Now, O my friend! if the Marshal has any intention of making me hear words that would be to the advantage of all, let him send me one of his people with letters of credit; let him give me secret information. I also will secretly send one of my friends, perhaps my brother Bou-Hammiddi, to meet your envoy near Tlemcen.

\* \* \* \* \*

Written by order of Sidi-el-Hadj Abdel-Kader Nasser-el-Din, son of Sid-Mahhi-el-Din, whom may God assist.

*1st-10th of Safar, 1260 (3rd-10th of February, 1844.)*

At the same time, Bou-Hammiddi, the Emir's confidant, forwarded the following letter, written by Abdel-Kader's sanction, to the Marshal:—

Greeting to all those who follow the true path, mercy and blessing!

I am grieved at the miseries that oppress the servants of God, in consequence of the war and rivalry existing between you and the Prince of the Believers. . . . If written correspondence, with its delays, does not suit you, name one of your followers to come in secret with your consent into the neighbourhood of Tlemcen. Write to the Emir to send me to meet your agent, and we will conclude everything that should be concluded between the two parties.

It is for God to do the rest. Greeting!

M. Léon Roches replied to Abdel-Kader's letter :

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The French were undecided, but now are quite agreed upon the Algerian question. The King, the Chambers, the Ministers, the nation, all choose to keep our conquest. A proof is that the King has sent his son to Constantine to be taught, and afterwards to be Sultan of Algeria. . . . In the time of doubt and our inexperience, you were master of the whole country. Six thousand regulars and two thousand khielas received their pay from your treasury; now the French have conquered you, and you have not been able to take one of our block-houses; now the country obeys France, all the goums are French, and you have not a single regular soldier left, but still wish to continue this struggle! . . . Come to the Marshal, throw yourself upon his discretion and generosity; nowhere will you meet such a reception and consideration; you will be treated as a noble enemy and princely guest.

\* \* \* \* \*

In this Arabic correspondence the Marshal allows the notion to appear of speedily resigning the government of the colony to the Duke d'Aumale, the King's son. This was the secret view of the Government, clumsily betrayed by Marshal Soult in his letter to the Governor on his promotion to Marshal, and accepted by the latter without objection, thanks to his entire devotion to the Orleans dynasty. He had only been hurt by the form, not the matter. In fact, he understood, and entirely approved, the serious political reasons that were to confer the government of Algeria upon the King's son.

After the brilliant feat of arms at the attack upon the smalah, the Duke d'Aumale had made a short visit to France, but soon returned with the rank of General of Division, and the post of Governor of Constantine, a province subdued, or nearly so. The young Prince was to get practice there, in ruling Arabs, while waiting till the old Marshal could hand



over to him the Government of Algeria entirely pacified.

Marshal Bugeaud wrote to the Duke in January, 1844, a letter from which we extract the following:—

I think, as you do, that the natives will accommodate themselves very well to our justice, and that we ought to interfere as much as possible in their affairs. It is the only way to get a real moral authority over them. I think we should very quietly proceed to substitute Frenchmen for the great Arab chiefs; but it will take time for the power of the aristocracy to be weakened, and for us to have enough of officers capable of ruling the Arabs, and willing to devote themselves thereto. This is a career open to all noble ambition, and already a good number of officers are looking towards it, and are all ready to engage in it.

\* \* \* \* \*

The application of Commandant Marquet seems to me to be too large. Our interest is not to make large landowners, but a great many little ones, to increase the population. In my opinion the best capital is a pair of arms fixed to the soil by right of ownership. Capital does not fix any one; men pass over its property like the figures in a magic-lantern. So I would reduce the grant to be made to M. Marquet by half.

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In the month of February, 1844, the Duke d'Aumale proceeded to the Ziban, to re-establish the authority of Sheik Ben Gannah, and drive off Si-Mohammed-El-Sgrir, Abdel-Kader's last Khalifa on the Ziban. Si-Mahommed had escaped to Mount Aures, and collected some Kabyles. The Prince in the latter part of March dispersed this assembly, after a combat that the *Moniteur Algérien* called 'most honourable.' As he fled to the Aures, he had left some of his property at Mechmech (the Apricot), a pretty little oasis eight leagues north-east of Biskra. The Aures then terminate in steep rocks. The Oued-el-Abiod (white river) coming out of an impassable gorge, waters a little valley of palm-trees.

It was flanked by three little forts upon the steep hills at the side, and an entrenched village served as a depôt for the oasis, and the neighbouring region of the Sahara.

When our horsemen approached Mechmech on the 11th of March, they were fired upon, and retired upon head-quarters. On the 15th the Prince left Biskra with 1200 bayonets, 400 horse, and two mountain guns. Three thousand hillmen saluted our approach with their war-cries. Our soldiers carried the western position at a run, and thence the howitzers fired shell on the eastern position and the oasis. It took four-hours' severe fighting to win the position and the three forts. Our loss was 6 men killed, 1 captain; 16 wounded, 5 officers. Among them the Duke de Montpensier\* slightly struck on the cheek.

The Marshal had an eye to everything. He observed between Blidah and Milianah a quantity of splendid wild olive-trees, so he sent thither and to Mostaganem a number of Europeans with grafts of good kinds to improve the produce. He also gave the mountaineers a quantity of sweet chestnuts for planting, as at a certain height the climate is similar to that of France. He also issued a notice forbidding the sale of any olive-wood, to prevent the destruction of the trees for firing. Great attention was paid to the roads. There were advertisements to be seen:

Coach from Algiers to Medeah and back leaving every Wednesday and Saturday.

So the journey that could only be made by a

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\* Fifth son of King Louis-Philippe, born 1824. Served in the artillery. In 1846 he married Marie-Louise-Ferdinande de Bourbon, sister of Isabella II., Queen of Spain. Since 1870 he has lived in France and seems to have ceased to engage in politics.

column of all arms only fifteen months ago could now be done by omnibuses coming and going twice a-week. In two years' intervals of fighting, the army had made 357 leagues of road.

The Marshal's chief efforts in the military line were directed against his great opponent, the Emir ; but he could not overlook the fact that his capital, Algiers, was threatened by independent tribes on the east, and remarkably close to it. In the autumn of 1842, he had conquered the province of Sebaou, and placed the administration in the hands of the Khalifa, Mahi-Eddin, a faithful officer, but too often troubled by the independent tribes of the neighbourhood, in obedience to the promptings of Ben Salem, a fugitive in the Jurjura.

The very coast of Dellys, the landing-place so near Algiers, was not subdued. The Marshal planned a little campaign, and issued a proclamation to the seven tribes, calling upon them to drive away Ben Salem, and surrender themselves at his camp on the Isser, when no harm should be done to them.

In May the Marshal easily took possession of Dellys, and set up a permanent establishment there, that has developed into a flourishing little town. This was easier than at Tenès and Orléansville, for the Moorish town of Dellys was still standing upon the ruins of an old Roman colony, named Rusucurum. The gardens, planted by the Moors, are still famous. An attack was made upon a portion of the French force, but easily repulsed, and four days afterwards the great tribe of the Flissas made their submission.

Two days before his return to Algiers, the Marshal

wrote the following pleasant letter to his daughter Léonie :—

*Algiers, Camp of the Oued-Sebaou, 25 May, 1844.*

You want your little letter, dear Léonie ; here it is. You are proud of being my daughter, and would like to be captain or lieutenant, to go everywhere with me. I like your wish, but should not love you a bit more if you were. You would not be so nice as you are, when you choose to be good, and are well.

I am glad to hear that you walk a great deal. Exercise of your arms and legs is certainly the best cure for you. If you were a gardener, working at your vegetables, and carrying them to market, you would soon be cured, and all the world would be wanting the pretty gardener's salads, for they would be dressed for customers with a delightful smile.

Most likely Marie is at Excideuil, spoiling Charles ; your wisdom will set this to rights.

I have again applied to return to France, but man proposes, God disposes. He alone knows when I shall be able to fondle you in our little house of La Durantie. I should be very glad if it could be in September.

I have organized the agalik of Taourga with the seven tribes round Dellys, and two days ago settled that of the Flissas ; to-day it is the turn of the Amraouas and several other tribes. You see that two little victories are more eloquent than the speeches of our politicians, and the sentimentality of our philanthropists. I now hope to get back by the 28th. What a long month I have been away from my pets ! It is long ; and yet the parting will be still longer, for you go home, and I stay.

I kiss you, my loves.

BUGEAUD.

Biskra is the finest oasis of the Sahara, with 130,000 date-palms, and 5000 olives, said to have been there in the time of the Romans. It is 234 kilomètres south-west of Constantine, and about 125 from the sea, at the foot of a spur of the Aures, bare mountains, one of them bearing an Arabic name that means 'red cheek.' Its torrent comes from the Aures by the magnificent breach of El Kantara, the Fom es Sahara (mouth of the desert). If it always

contained the immense volume of water that sometimes is poured into its bed by storms, it would overcome the Sahara for a long distance ; generally its flow ceases close to Biskra, and then the palms, as they must have 'heads in fire, feet in water,' are moistened by neighbouring springs, at the rate of 180 litres a second (some 40 gallons).

The Duke d'Aumale had occupied Biskra, and the expedition thither appears to have given rise to some cautions to him from the Marshal, who writes :—

Why did you detach M. Tremblay, eight leagues from Biskra, on the 11th, with a battalion and a squadron, for the enemy had retired thither, and your whole column was to march there on the 13th ?

Small detachments far away are very dangerous, especially with an unknown country and enemy. It is better to march with the whole force. Evidently M. Tremblay's little column had no effect, good or bad ; if checked, the moral influence would have been bad.

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Ever since I was in Spain in 1809, I have always been opposed to detachments or reconnoissances of such a nature as to risk fractions of the army ; and I told you that reconnoissances must be either very strong or very small ; some horsemen, without infantry, or the whole army. In that way nothing is risked. Besides the inconveniences arising from the nature of things, there is the risk, in sending detachments to a distance, of having a clumsy, weak, or imprudent commanding officer, who might cause a partial check. It is better to play a safe game, and leave as little as possible to chance. You understand that these are general principles, and I do not apply them absolutely to this instance, for I do not know the particulars, and you may have had good reasons for detaching M. Tremblay.

Biskra was not enough, so the Marshal very soon gave orders to take El Aghouat, an oasis on the meridian of Algiers, 446 kilomètres from Algiers, and 347 from Medeah. A year and a half ago Sidi-Ahmed-Ben-Salem, Sheik of El-Aghouat, sent presents and horses, begging for investiture. The Governor-

general had regularly refused them, answering that he did not treat with unknown persons, and that if the Sheik intended to become a servant of France, he must come to Algiers in person to ask the favour.

As Ahmed-Ben-Salem was ill with liver-complaint, and not able to move in person, he sent his brother Yahia to General Marey, who was operating against Ouled-Nails. The envoy was forwarded to the Governor-general at Algiers, and was there invested conditionally; the full effect not to take place till a French column had traversed the country and received the tax.

A French column received orders to penetrate to the south of Medeah and Boghar, as far as El-Aghouat, and further if necessary.

Two thousand eight hundred men left Medeah on the 1st of May under General Marey,\* seven hundred of them being Arab auxiliaries. They were very honourably received at El-Aghouat, and even advanced eleven leagues beyond it, where the heat was very great, and water and grass had quite disappeared. The Turks had never been beyond El-Aghouat itself.

Colonel Saint-Arnaud was in this expedition, and we find in his letters to his brother:—

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\* General Guillaume-Stanias Marey-Monge, born in 1796, died in 1863, was the son of the Conventional Marey, and grandson, by his mother, of the celebrated Monge. Entered the Ecole Polytechnique in 1814, and was engaged in the defence of Paris against the allies. He raised the Chasseurs Algériens, and the corps of Spahis, served with distinction in Africa. In 1848 he was in the army of the Alpes, and had just been appointed to the Senate when he died in 1863. After the establishment of the Empire he revived the title of Count of Pelusium that his grandfather, Monge, had received from Napoleon I.

General Marey-Monge was a capital soldier, a learned and clever man, but of an awkward disposition. Marshal Bugeaud had a great opinion of him, though without much love instinctively for Polytechnicians, as their absolute and systematic principles often clashed with his practical mind and admirable good sense.

I have crossed the desert under quite different circumstances than I expected. After some days of burning sun, we met such severe cold, that on the 18th, 19th, 20th, and especially the 21st of May, we wore our burnous on horseback, and wanted bivouac fires. . . . . When we left Taguin we went to Tedgemont, and reached it on the fifth day. This town is like a fine opera scene, only from a distance; for like all Arab towns it is all ruins; walls, mud mixed with stones, without opening outwards, very high, and with wide very low gates. . . . . Tedgemont, built upon a height, with its girdle of gardens, themselves surrounded by a river of silver, flowing over fine white sand, is a beautiful sight, with the dark verdure of apricot trees and carob trees. Imagine a multitude of palms, and in the background the grey sharp lines of the town, and this under an African sun, and admire this country, one of the most beautiful I have seen in Africa.

The Governor was not at Algiers to receive the despatch on the return of the expedition to El-Aghouat. He had been obliged to embark in haste for the west, having received a very disturbing despatch from General Lamoricière. The storm was threatening in that direction, and most important events were in preparation.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE BATTLE OF ISLY (1844).

Preludes of the Moorish Campaign—Abdel-Kader's and the Emperor's Emissaries among our tribes—The Marshal goes to Oran—Bedeau's Interview with the Moorish Chief—Occupation of Ouchda—Guizot's Letter to the Ambassador in London—English Displeasure—Commencement of Hostilities—Bombardment of Tangiers—And of Mogador—Account of the Battle of Isly by M. Léon Roches—Official Report—The King's Letter—Conclusion of the Treaty as desired by the French.

ALGERIA was to experience a most severe shock. Abder-Rhaman, the Emperor of Morocco, powerful in the number of his subjects and his soldiers, chief of the religion in all northern Africa; Sheriff, that is to say, having the very blood of the Prophet in his veins, threw his sword into the balance on Abdel-Kader's side, and caused a holy war to be preached against the Christians.

Emissaries were sent among our tribes by Abdel-Kader and the agents of Morocco, to prepare them for revolt. The least hesitation or indication of fear on our side might have imperilled everything throughout our Algerian possessions.

General Bedeau's\* troops had to repulse Moorish

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\* Bedeau, Marie-Alphonse, General, born at Verton, near Nantes, in 1804, died in 1863, was aide-de-camp to Generals Gérard and Schramm in the Belgian campaign of 1831, 1832, went to Algiers in 1836, was distinguished at the siege of Constantine, the expedition to Cherchell, the Col de Mouzaia, Medeah, and Milianah, did a great deal in the conquest of the province of Tittery in 1842, and at the battle of Isly, in 1844; was Commander of the province of Constantine, and again distinguished in the expedition against the Kabyles of Bougie, in 1847. He was at Paris during the revolution of 1848; commanding one of the columns ordered to fight the insurgents, he remained inactive, this drew blame upon him



aggression upon our territory on the 30th of May. The Moorish Kaïd, unable to control the fanatic passions of the contingents assembled round him, was induced to cross the frontier not far from Ouchda, at a place called Lalla-Maghrnia, sixty kilomètres from Tlemcen. The French camp was impetuously attacked by the Abias-Boukkari, an excellent body of regular cavalry.

General Lamoricière repulsed them, and our troops were in excellent spirits.

Next day Marshal Bugeaud embarked at Algiers on receipt of a despatch from Lamoricière. Being desirous of employing peaceful means, as soon as he arrived he sent directions for General Bedeau to have an interview with the Moorish chief. While the conference was in progress, on the 15th of June, the Moorish troops approached unnoticed, and fired upon our troops, wounding Captain Daumas and two men. After some excuses, and attempts to restore order, the Moorish chief declared that the frontier must be set back to the Tafna, and in case of refusal it was war. These words broke up the conference, but just as our troops were retiring, a sharp attack was made on them.

M. Guizot, foreseeing these events, had on the 17th of June, 1844, written to our ambassador in London, the Comte de Saint-Aulaire, telling him it was certain there would be war with Morocco,

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from Marshal Bugeaud, but was explained by formal orders. The Provisional Government gave him some important commands. He was Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly, and engaged in putting down the insurrection of June, when he was wounded. He was elected to the Legislative Assembly, arrested at the time of the coup-d'état in 1851, sent out of France, and would not return till 1860.

General Bedeau was a most energetic man, and most honourable. His reputation was among the purest of the African Army.

disclaiming any wish on the part of the French for increase of territory, and laying the blame on Abdel-Kader. 'I can tell you Jugurtha was no cleverer, no bolder, no more persevering than this man, and if there was a Sallust in our days, Abdel-Kader's history deserves to be written. There must no longer be a state of things giving occasion for war.'

While the Marshal was marching upon Ouchda, he desired to leave open a door for peaceable arrangements. He therefore wrote to El Gennaoui, complaining of the violations of French territory by the Moors, saying that though the French did not desire any increase of territory, they would certainly not consent to retire their frontier to the Tafna, or recede from their present line. After General Bedeau being fired upon during the conference, the Marshal would be quite justified in vigorous reprisals, but his desire was to settle the difficulties peaceably.

El hennaoui's reply was ambiguous as to the outrages, and also expressed a desire for peace. The Marshal again replied to him on the 18th of June :—

Greeting! In all your previous communications you have accused us of violating your territory, and infringing the laws of friendship. This means that you make a point of laying the blame for all you have done upon us, so that you may have nothing to reproach yourself with. I am not used to these diplomatic tricks. I loyally go straight to the point. I am a soldier, who is obedient to his King and the interests of his country. You say you are still desirous for the maintenance of harmony now existing between the two empires. I wish it as much as you do, but we must have a clear explanation. Reply to me as clearly what you wish.

We intend to preserve the frontier, as held by the Turks, and Abdel-Kader after them. We want nothing that is yours. But we desire that you should not receive, or succour Abdel-Kader any more, revive him when he is almost dead, and launch him afresh

against us. That is not good friendship. It is war, and you have been thus warring against us for two years. We desire that you should confine in the interior of your country the deira and the chiefs who have served Abdel-Kader, disperse his regular troops, goums and askers; that you no longer receive troops that emigrate from our territory, and immediately send back those who have fled to you.

We bind ourselves to do the same by you if occasion should arise. These are the conditions of the observance of rules of good friendship between the two nations; on these we shall be your friends, shall favour your trade and the Government of Muley-Abder-Rahman as far as is in our power. If you choose to do the contrary we shall be enemies. Reply to me immediately, and without any subterfuges, for I do not understand them. Greeting.

M. d'Haussonville, in his *History of the Foreign Policy of the French Government*, after saying what very large interests were involved, observes that if ever an expedition was suddenly resolved upon, energetically managed, and brilliantly concluded, it was that against the Moors in 1844. The rapidity of the operations was quite consistent with French policy, and even party spirit was for a moment silenced. Yet may we not suggest in reply to M. d'Haussonville that in case of defeat at Isly or Mogador, or complications with England, it is possible to suppose that the Government, led by M. Guizot, might have disavowed the action of the Marshal and the Prince ?

It is as well to recur to the difficult and disturbed times through which the monarchy of July had to steer its way, in order to fully understand the position of the Governor-general of our African possessions towards the representatives of the nation and the King's Ministers. M. Guizot's correspondence with the Marshal is an evidence of this strange situation of affairs and its difficulties. It must be acknowledged that the Marshal's temperament was not

great at accommodating itself to Parliamentary necessities and constraints. Thus the ambiguous advice and instructions that he received from the Cabinet at the Tuileries were not always exactly followed; and this is the reason why at every step we meet with unmistakable traces of the Governor-general's initiative, in the preliminaries of this Moorish campaign, as well as the resolutions adopted. A General in command, separated from France by the sea, entrusted with both political and diplomatic interests, even if he had been ever so desirous, would have found it impossible to refer to his Government at every hour of the day, and so relieve himself of responsibility. Marshal Bugeaud never recoiled from taking the initiative, as the result of this glorious campaign clearly proves.

It must be allowed that the old Marshal was admirably seconded under these circumstances by one of the King's sons, the young Admiral the Prince de Joinville,\* who was commanding the cruisers off the

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\* François-Ferdinand-Philippe-Louis-Marie d'Orléans, Prince de Joinville, is the third son of King Louis Philippe. He was born at Neuilly in 1818, entered the navy and served regularly on board ship. In 1838, during the war with Mexico, he showed great skill and daring in an attack upon the batteries of Saint-Jean d'Ulloa when serving in the corvette *Creole*, and also broke open the gates of Vera Cruz and captured General Arista with his own hand; for this he was given the Cross of the Legion of Honour and promoted to be Captain.

In 1840 he brought back the remains of the Emperor, Napoleon I., from Saint Helena, and, as it may be remembered there was some danger of a war with England, he loudly proclaimed his intention of fighting to the death in defence of his precious charge, if it should be attacked. In 1843 he married the Princess of Braganza, sister of the Emperor, Don Pedro, of Brazil. The same year he was made an Admiral, and had a great deal to do with the organization of the steam navy. In 1844 he bombarded Tangier, and captured Mogador.

In 1848 he retired with his brother, d'Aumale, to England, and lived in privacy till 1861, when he went to New York with his son, the Duke d'Enthièvre, and his two nephews, the Count de Paris and the Duke de Chartres, and presented them to President Lincoln. His son entered the United States Naval School, while his nephews became officers in MacClellan's army.

In 1870, on our first disasters, the Prince de Joinville applied to his old comrade, Admiral de Genouilly, Minister of Napoleon III., for permission to serve France,

Moorish coasts. The Prince was now nearly twenty-six, and his keen intelligence, energy, and decision of character, never-failing love of independence, and extreme sense of honour, naturally attracted the old soldier of Spain.

The Prince de Joinville had been equally desirous with the Marshal of vigorous action, but had been restrained by the instructions of the Government, enjoining moderation upon him at any cost. A letter of the Minister contained this expression, 'As long as the flag (afloat) of France is not insulted, you are not to act.'

The young Commodore sent this portion of his instructions to the Marshal; and he, whose standard (on land) had several times been insulted by the Moors, answered:—

How long, Sir, has an endeavour been made to distinguish between the flag of France afloat and ashore? Be careful, my Prince, not to listen to such subtleties. The flag of France ashore has been insulted, and it is your duty and mine to make it respected. Care for your glory, my Prince, ought to prevail over the fear of diplomatic complications. Listen to nothing but the inspirations of honour personified in you.

By way of answer, on the 10th of August, the

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but this was refused by the Republic, as well as by the Empire. With his brother, d'Aumale, and his nephews he went back into banishment. But when the army of the Loire was formed he again endeavoured to serve in the French ranks under General Aurelia. Covered by the American name of Colonel Lutherod, like his nephew, the Duke de Chartres, in Normandy, as Robert le Fort, he was present at the actions of the 15th corps before Orleans, served in one of the sailors' batteries; and only left the town with the last of the soldiers. On the 21st of December he waited upon General Chanzy and requested to join in the operations, preserving the most strict incognito. The General received him with delight, reserving the right of reference to the War Minister. But the lawyer, Gambetta, considered he ought not to confirm this decision, caused Colonel Lutherod to be arrested by a commissary of the police, confined five days at the prefecture of Mans, and then shipped at St. Malo for England. He was elected for two departments to a seat in the Chamber in 1871, but not admitted till M. Thiers had dexterously made the most simple and most royalist of the French Chambers secure his position as President.

The Prince de Joinville is very large-minded, patriotic, and very liberal; he has never ceased, even when his father was King, from showing entire independence, and freely expressing his opinion. He has written some valuable works on marine operations.

Marshal received a letter from the Prince de Joinville, informing him that he had on the 6th bombarded Tangier, with the English looking on, and that he was going to bombard Mogador. The Marshal without delay replied with this short sentence:—

SIR,—You have drawn a bill of exchange upon me. Be sure I shall not be long in honouring it. Vive la France!

At the same time he forwarded the plan of the battle of Isly, and it will be found to have been punctually executed on the day announced.

The Marshal's patience was exhausted, as has been said, and he entered Ouchda on the 19th of June. The frontier was violated. The situation becoming serious, the Emperor sent orders to all his provincial Governors for a general levy. Abdel-Kader, avoiding the observation of our advanced posts, made his way into the Djebel Amour, and endeavoured to raise the southern tribes against us. They all remained faithful; the Emir only obtained a promise that they would join the Moorish army when it met the infidel forces.

The 1st of July, on the banks of Isly, the Moors made a timid attack upon our rear-guard, but fled at the first musket-shots. Our troops ascended the river on the 11th, and on the 13th we killed some hundred horsemen of the Moorish tribes, losing only two men and five horses. On the 19th the French troops returned to Lalla-Maghrnia for refreshment.

In France, the Government decided for action under pressure of public opinion. Notwithstanding the jealousy and almost threats of England, M. Guizot, in answer to questions from the Right and Left unanimously, announced his completely fixed

intention of obtaining just reparation and securing the safety of our possessions in Africa. Instructions were sent. The Prince de Joinville, cruising in the waters of Cadiz with a flying squadron, received orders to proceed to Tangier to receive our Consul, the Comte de Nyon, and the people of our nation for conveyance to Spain. Before leaving his residence, M. Nyon forwarded to the court of Fez Marshal Bugeaud's ultimatum to the Kaid Si-El-Gennaoui.

The Moorish Government gave a hypocritical answer, promising exemplary punishment of any Moorish chiefs guilty of aggression upon our territory, but on the express condition that Marshal Bugeaud should be dismissed, on account of the occupation of Ouchda. As to the fate of Abdel-Kader, it was only just alluded to in obscure language.

The French squadron anchored before Tangier. The town contained a numerous garrison, and was defended by several batteries mounting 105 guns, served by Spanish deserters. Our squadron was composed of three men-of-war, the *Suffren*, the *Jemmapes*, the *Triton*; one sailing frigate, the *Belle Poule*; three steam frigates, the *Labrador*, the *Asmodée*, the *Orénoque*; four steam corvettes, the *Pluto*, the *Gassendi*, the *Vélocé*, and the *Cuvier*; also eleven smaller steamers, three war brigs, and three store-ships, in all twenty-eight vessels.

On the 6th of August, at eight in the morning, the vessels took up their fighting positions without resistance from the enemy, and the bombardment began upon a signal from the *Suffren*. In an hour's time all the outer batteries were destroyed; two works held out longer, the battery of the Kasbah and that

of the marine fort, but the Moors had soon to quit their last entrenchments and retire to the town. At eleven the fire ceased, the Prince commanding the squadron had executed the orders of the Ministry, the exterior fortifications were in ruins, the town had been respected.

When the work of destruction was performed, the squadron went into the Atlantic, passed along the coast of Morocco, and, though the weather was very bad, anchored before Mogador on the 11th of August. The condition of the sea would not allow of the vessels at once taking up their fighting positions. For three days they had to lie at anchor without being able to communicate. At last the weather cleared up on the 15th. The *Suffren*, the *Jemmapes*, and the *Triton*, opened fire upon the fortifications and advanced works. The *Belle Poule* and the other vessels of lighter draught entered the harbour and engaged the batteries of the Marina and those of the island defending the port.

At first the Moors made a vigorous reply, but gradually slackened and then ceased their fire, being crushed by the projectiles from the squadron. The batteries fell into ruins, the guns were dismounted, and the gunners driven off.

The island alone held out, being defended with the courage of despair by a detachment of three hundred and twenty men. The steam-vessels *Pluton*, *Gassendi*, and *Phare*, landed five hundred marines, who carried the position under a sharp fire and drove the defenders out of their last entrenchments. Next day a landing party completed the destruction of the works spared by shot. All the guns not dismounted were spiked, the powder drowned, and all the goods found in the custom-house burnt or thrown into the sea.



At this very time there is a letter from the Marshal to his daughter Léonie, dated from the Oued-Muylade, 10th July, 1844, full of great anxiety for Madame Bugeaud, who was returning to France seriously ill.

Before we give the official report of the battle of Isly, it will be most interesting to give an account of this important event by M. Léon Roches, never before made public, and full of intricate details that he alone could furnish :—

Certainly the battle of Isly, from a tactician's point of view, does great honour to the little army engaged and the illustrious General who commanded it. And yet the very resolution taken by Marshal Bugeaud to give battle is even more worthy of admiration. This assertion requires to be supported by some short explanation.

Though there had been several sanguinary combats between our troops and those of the Moors, the responsibility for which rested upon the Emperor of Morocco's agents, the French Government, fearing serious complications with England, persisted in writing both to the Prince de Joinville, commander of the squadron cruising in Moorish waters, and to Marshal Bugeaud that the French flag afloat not having been insulted there was no reason to declare war against Morocco.

The Emperor's son was encouraged by the inaction to which this political reason condemned our squadron and army, and he, contrary to the orders of his father (as we afterwards found, shown by that sovereign's letters that I myself discovered in his secretary's tent at Isly), advanced towards Algeria with the actual intention of turning us out of Lalla-Maghrnia. Deceived by the reports of fanatic personages around him, and perhaps influenced by Abdel-Kader's agents, he even dared to talk of a plan of conquering the province of Oran.

At the head of a large force of regular cavalry, with contingents from all the Berber and Arab tribes that inhabit the vast territory extending from Fez to Ouchda, Muley-Mohammed, heir-presumptive of Muley-Abder-Rhaman, Emperor of Morocco, found the number of his soldiers increasing every day. All the tribes of Moors came to take part in the war against the infidels, and many Algerian tribes prayed for the success of the holy enterprise. How many professions of devotion did not the Prince receive every day from the emissaries of those who called themselves our allies !

According to them, what could the little French army do against formidable masses of gallant horsemen led by the Prince of the

believers. It should be observed that the smallest reverse experienced by the French would have been a signal for a general rising of all the Arabs in Algeria. In the face of such contingencies, was it not rash to risk all upon the fate of a battle? Would it not have been more prudent to temporise? Such was the secret thought of several generals whose courage and patriotism could certainly not be doubted. This was not the Marshal's opinion. He understood that an opportunity offered for striking a grand blow, that should have the three-fold advantage of putting an end for ever to the ambitious plans of the Moorish sovereigns, consolidating our rule in Algeria, and adding a fair page to the glorious annals of France.

It was then the great patriot, the great captain, wrote to the Prince de Joinville adjuring him not to listen to the advice of persons more interested in sparing the feelings of a country professing alliance with us than of guarding the honour of France. He added that he could see no difference between the flag of France afloat or ashore, that the flag ashore had been insulted by the Moors, and that the squadron and the army ought to avenge this insult, quite away from any considerations of policy. In a few days the young prince informed him of the bombardment of Tangier. The Marshal's answer on the 12th of August, 1844, was, 'Prince, you have drawn a bill upon me, I engage to honour it; to-morrow I execute a manœuvre that will bring me close to the army of the Emperor's son, without his knowing it, and the day after I shall defeat it.'

By the 10th of August the Marshal had in his hands a report I had given him containing the most accurate information to be obtained as to the situation of the Moorish camp, the roads leading to it, the composition of the force, and finally the number of horse and foot that composed the army. I have preserved the draft of this report.

Rumour raised the number of fighting men to a hundred and fifty thousand. This was an error. According to my information, the accuracy of it being ascertained afterwards, we had to expect to fight six thousand regular horse of the Emperor's guard, one thousand to twelve hundred picked footmen of Muley-Mohammed's guard, and about sixty thousand horse, contingents from the tribes in the east of the empire.

On the 12th the Marshal had been occupied in preparing instructions for every leader of a corps. He was more tired than usual, and lay down upon his camp-bed immediately after our dinner.

In the morning two regiments of cavalry had joined us from France, and the officers of the Chasseurs d'Afrique and the Spahis had invited all the officers in the camp not engaged on duty to a punch party given in honour of the new-comers.

They had contrived a great garden upon the banks of the Isly, with its boundaries and paths marked by splendid clumps of oleanders

and tamarisks. All the space was brilliantly illuminated by paper lanterns of different colours. What is there not to be found in a French camp?

When my comrades and I, being the Marshal's staff, saw all these officers of every rank and all arms collected in this picturesque spot, we very much regretted his absence. He would have found in it one of the occasions he was always seeking of putting himself into direct communication with his comrades in arms. But he was very much tired, and who should venture to disturb his rest?

Being less restrained than my comrades by the rules of military etiquette, I undertook the duty and returned to our tents. The business was to wake our illustrious chief. There were a few sharp words, but he was very kind. In two words I told him why I had done it. He had lain down completely dressed, and so had only to put on his kepi instead of the notorious cap with a tuft, that gave rise to the famous march, 'La Casquette du Père Bugeaud,' and we were off. He still grumbled a little on the way from his tent to the improvised garden, for we had more than half a mile to walk over rough ground, with entanglements of tent-ropes and horses' pickets.

These little discomforts were soon forgotten. Indeed, as soon as ever the Marshal had entered the principal path, he was recognised and saluted with acclamations that delighted him very much. Everyone wanted to see him; the generals and higher officers were not the only ones who had the honour of shaking hands with him. At last he reached the platform where the punch was served. All present formed a circle round him, the generals and colonels next him. He remarked there was no time to lose, as they must rest in preparation for the labours of to-morrow and the next day.

'The day after to-morrow, my friends,' he called out with his strong and penetrating voice, 'will be a great day, I give you my word for it. With our little army, 6500 bayonets and fifteen hundred horse, I am going to attack the Moorish Prince's army, which, according to my information, amounts to sixty thousand horse. I should be glad if they were twice or thrice as many, for the more they are the greater will be their disorder and disaster. I have an army, he has only a mob. I will give you a prediction of what will happen. And first I will explain to you my formation for attack. I arrange my little army in the shape of a boar's head. You quite understand! The right tusk is Lamoricière, the left tusk is Bedeau, the muzzle is Pelissier, and I am between the ears. Who can stop our penetrating force? My friends we shall split the Moorish army as a knife does butter. I have only one fear, that they may anticipate defeat and escape our blows.'

It would be impossible to describe the enthusiasm excited by the Marshal's speech I have given the pith of, but losing the

peculiar form of his words, so well calculated to fire the soldiers' nerve.

Next day all the army knew of the speech at the punch party, and making itself one with the soul of its chief, like him had but one fear, to see the Moors escape.

The Marshal had sent out foraging parties every day. The whole or a part of the cavalry, supported by the infantry, had gone out to cut wheat, barley, or grass, to feed the horses and beasts of burden. The Moors, who watched us, had become used to this operation, they sometimes checked it, but conceived no suspicion of our intentions. On the 13th the foraging went on as usual, but the whole army went out, and at night, instead of returning to camp, stayed where it was. Express orders were given against lighting a fire, or even smoking, every horseman held his horse by the bridle.

At one in the morning the whole army marched in most profound silence towards the Moorish camp. At six in the morning we had just ascended a hill that separated us from the Oued-Isly, when we caught sight of the Moorish camp: why call it camp? The Moorish camps. They were seven in number, occupying a greater space than the circumference of Paris.

At this sight all the soldiers uttered a formidable hurrah, and threw up the canes that had served to support their shelter tents at night, and their packs during halts by day. This spot obtained the name of the Cane-field. The Moors had just begun to leave their tents. The alarm was speedily given. We soon saw them mounting, and a great many came forward to dispute our crossing the river.

The little French army resumed its march in the formation directed by the Marshal. After the passage of the Isly, effected in perfect order, and without much loss, it advanced through the masses of Moors, who completely surrounded it. One of our Arab horsemen told me it was like a lion surrounded by a thousand jackals.

The Moors made charges of four or five thousand horsemen upon our little battalions. Our foot let them get within short range, and then the volleys of musketry stopped the first rank, and hurled it back upon the second, and that threw the rest into disorder.

For about two hours these charges were repeated with the same ill success, and our little army kept on advancing, without the famous tusks, Generals Bedeau and Lamoricière, having to form their battalions in square, as the Marshal had ordered, in case the charges of the Moors had been better led. We may really be said to have experienced a rain of bullets, in fact, as the cavalry executed their charges in columns of great depth, the fire of the first and second ranks alone was slightly effective; all the others were

obliged to fire in the air, and I do not exaggerate at all, when I say that all of us, soldiers, officers, and generals, were hit, at least once, by spent balls.

When we reached the nearest tents, the Marshal, seeing the disorder of the enemy's ranks increase, launched his cavalry, which he had hitherto kept between the ears of the boar's head.

A part of the Chasseurs d'Afrique, the Spahis, and the cavalry regiments, that arrived two days before, under Colonel Yusuf and Colonel Tartas, invaded the Moorish camp, and took all their guns, fourteen pieces. There was a very sharp fight round the Moorish Prince's tent, and our infantry coming up, completed the rout of this immense army, that the Marshal had rightly called a mob.

I do not tell you of the exploit of Colonel Morris, who, pursuing the fugitives more than four miles from Isly, found himself all at once surrounded by six thousand horsemen. He managed to keep them at a distance with his five hundred Chasseurs, by the power of coolness and courage; but it took the Marshal's keen eye to see and understand the danger of the situation, and repair this rashness. At last, by noon, the Marshal made his entrance into the magnificent tent of the Emperor's son, and we were very glad to swallow the tea and cakes prepared that morning for the unlucky Prince.

We had killed or taken prisoners twelve or fifteen hundred Moors, without counting the dead and wounded who had been carried off by their comrades. We had taken more than a thousand tents, all the artillery, a great quantity of arms of all kinds, several standards, and an immense booty. We had only two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded.

As for me, I had made the most important prize, namely, a casket containing all the political correspondence between the Emperor and his son. We shall have occasion to recur to this interesting correspondence.

A few more words upon the consequences of the battle. Abderrhaman's son, terrified by this bloody and shameful defeat, did not stop till he reached Theza, and the Marshal prepared to pursue him there. At least, we spread the report by our emissaries. He received orders from his father to endeavour to stay the Marshal's march, by making proposals of peace to him. Next day two chiefs, bearers of an Imperial letter, reached us.

As it was my duty, when campaigning, to take all Arab business, I had a much more comfortable tent than the Marshal's, and the Mahometan chiefs who came to visit him dismounted there first.

There I received the two Moorish chiefs. I need not tell you that I left them under a salutary impression of dread that they would be unable to stop the Marshal's march to Theza. Heaven knows, however, that we had need to return speedily, for our

soldiers, who had been sustained by the excitement of expecting a great event, began to drop under the violent heat and fatigues of this hard campaign. Nearly two hundred sick a-day went into hospital.

After a lot of discussion, and going and coming between my tent and the Marshal's, I told my Moorish chiefs that the King of France's Khalifa, as I called the Marshal in treating with Arabs in Algeria, would consent to receive them.

When they entered the Marshal's tent, I still made them wait for his coming, and one of them asked me, 'When are you going to take us to the Khalifa's tent?'

I told him, 'You are in it.' And they could not believe me, when they saw how simply the great chief lived.

The Marshal came in. They saluted him with a bearing that was at once humble and noble. The question of an armistice was discussed. The bases were settled; and at the end of the audience I told the Marshal, with the consent of the chiefs, how surprised they were at the plainness of the tent.

This is the Marshal's actual reply:—

'You may tell your Prince that he need not be ashamed of losing the battle of Isly, for he is young and inexperienced, and has never been to war, and had for his adversary an old soldier, grown grey in fighting. Tell him that in war it is always necessary to provide for defeat, and that therefore a man should never encumber himself with articles of luxury and comfort, that may serve as trophies to the enemy, if they conquer.

'If Prince Muley-Mohammed had taken my camp, he would have had nothing to boast of in the captured tent of one of the King of France's khalifas. May my experience be of service to him.'

I have subsequently been reminded of these grave and kindly words by more than one Moorish chief.

The day after the battle, 17th August, 1844, the Marshal sent the following despatch:—

TO THE MARSHAL DUKE OF DALMATIA, WAR-MINISTER.

*Bivouac near Coudiat, Abder-Rhaman,  
17th August, 1844.*

SIR,—The Emperor Muley-Abder-Rhaman's son did not reply to the letter I sent him after his kind of summons to me to evacuate Lalla-Maghrnia if we wanted peace. His army was being daily increased by fresh contingents, and his pride rose with his numbers.

In the Moorish camp there was free talk of taking Tlemcen, Oran, Mascara, and even Algiers. It was a real crusade to restore the affairs of Islam. They thought we should be unable to resist such a large collection of the most famous cavaliers in the Moorish empire, and were only delaying their attack upon us till the arrival of infantry contingents of the Beni-Senassen, and from Rif, who were to assail us from the mountains above Lalla-Maghrnia, while we were surrounded by hordes of cavalry upon the plain.

Behind me minds had been already disturbed by the nine days of uncertainty that had elapsed. The enemy had already attacked me twice in the combats of Djemaa-Ghazouat, and the goodwill of the tribes was ready to vanish. Two reconnoissances had come within musket-shot of Lalla-Maghrnia, and had attacked our advanced posts.

Any longer doubt as to our power or will to fight the opponents before us might have provoked revolt behind us, and that, independently of other difficulties, would have prevented the supply of provisions to the Army of the West. In such excessive heat, I should have preferred to receive battle rather than to make an attack upon an enemy at eight leagues' distance; but the dangers of a longer delay decided me to take the initiative.

General Bedeau, having joined me on the 12th with three battalions and six squadrons, I advanced on the 13th, at three in the afternoon, feigning to be a grand foraging party, so that the enemy might not find out that it was a real offensive movement. At nightfall the foragers rejoined the column, and we encamped in order of march in silence, and without fire. At two in the morning I moved again.

I crossed the Isly a first time at daybreak, without meeting an enemy. When we reached the hills of Djarf-el-Akhdar, at eight in the morning, we saw all the Moorish camps still in place, extending over the hills on the right bank. All their cavalry had advanced to attack us as we again crossed the river. In the middle of a great mass, on the highest spot, we could clearly see the attendants on the Emperor's son, his standards, and his parasol, the sign of command.

This was the point I gave to the directing battalion of my échelloned formation. When we got there, we were to turn to the right, and advance upon the camps, holding the top of the hills with the left face of my reserve square. All the heads of the various divisions of my battle formation were near me; I quickly gave them their instructions, and, after a five or six minutes' halt, we went down to the ford at the simple quick march, and with bands playing.

A number of horsemen defended the crossing; they were driven off by my infantry skirmishers with some loss on both sides, and I soon reached the plain immediately beneath the highest knob, where

the Emperor's son was posted. I turned the fire of my four field-guns upon it, and a great disturbance immediately took place.

At this moment immense masses of cavalry came from behind the hills on both sides, and assailed both my flanks and rear at once. I had need of all the firmness of my infantry; not a man showed signs of weakness. Our skirmishers, only fifty paces from the squares, awaited these multitudes with perfect firmness, not giving back a step; they had orders to lie down, if the charge reached them, so as not to impede the fire of the squares. The artillery was firing grape in the line of the dead angles of the squares.

The enemy's masses were stopped, and began to waver. I hastened their retreat and increased their disorder by turning upon them the four field-guns that were leading the formation. As soon as I saw that the enemy's attempt upon my flanks had failed, I continued my forward march, the great knob was carried, and the change of direction towards the camps was effected.

As the enemy's cavalry was divided by their own movements, and by my march cutting them in two, I thought that the time had come to send my own out upon the key of the position, to my idea the camp, that I supposed to be defended by infantry and artillery. I ordered Colonel Tartas to échelon his nineteen squadrons by the left, so that his last échelon should rest upon the right bank of the Isly.

Colonel Yusuf led the first échelon, composed of six squadrons of Spahis, very closely supported by three squadrons of the 4th Chasseurs.

Colonel Yusuf cut down a number of horsemen, and entered the immense camp, after receiving several discharges of artillery. He found it full of cavalry and infantry, who disputed the ground foot by foot; the reserve, three squadrons of Chasseurs, came up; a fresh impulse was given, the guns were taken, and the camp captured.

It was covered with the bodies of men and horses. All the artillery, all the magazines of warlike stores and provisions, the Prince's tents, the tents of all the chiefs, the shops of the numerous tradesmen that accompanied the army, everything remained in our power. But this fine episode had cost us dear; four officers of Spahis and fifteen Spahis and Chasseurs had lost their lives, and many more were wounded.

Meanwhile, Colonel Morris, commanding the second and third échelons, seeing a great mass of cavalry again collecting upon my right wing, crossed the Isly to frustrate this charge by attacking the enemy's right flank. The attack upon our infantry failed like the others, but Colonel Morris had to sustain a most unequal conflict.

Not being able to retire without risking a defeat, he determined to fight hard till help came. This contest lasted more than half-an-hour; his six squadrons were successively engaged, and several times



our Chasseurs performed prodigies of valour ; three hundred horsemen, Berbers, or Abids Bophari, fell under their blows.

At last, General Bedeau, commanding the right wing, saw the great danger the 2nd Chasseurs were encountering, and detached the battalion of Zouaves, a battalion of the 15th Light, and the ninth battalion of the Chasseurs d'Orleans, to attack the enemy from the hilla. This movement decided his retreat.

Then Colonel Morris resumed the offensive, and executed several successful charges along the gorge where the enemy was retreating. This episode is one of the most exciting of the day: 550 Chasseurs of the 2nd fighting 6000 of the enemy's horse. Every Chasseur brought back a trophy of this engagement; one a standard, another a horse, another a weapon, or some portion of equipment.

The infantry had speedily followed the first échelon of cavalry into the camp; the enemy had rallied in a great mass upon the left bank of the Isly, and seemed inclined to retake the camp. The infantry and artillery crossed it rapidly; the artillery went into action upon the right bank, and threw grape upon this immense concourse of horsemen collecting from every side. Then the infantry crossed the river, covered by the fire of the guns; the Spahis formed line, and were closely followed by the three squadrons of the 4th Regiment of Chasseurs and the fourth échelon, composed of two squadrons of the 1st Regiment of Chasseurs and two squadrons of the 2nd Regiment of Hussars, under Colonel Gagnon.

The Spahis, seeing they had good support of both cavalry and infantry, recommenced the attack; the enemy was pushed hard for a league, and their rout was complete. They retired partly by the road to Thaza, partly by the valleys leading to the mountains of the Beni-Senasse.

It was now noon; the heat was great, and the troops of all arms very tired. There was no more artillery or baggage to capture, for it was all taken. So I checked the pursuit, and brought all the troops back to the Sultan's camp.

Colonel Yusuf had caused the tent of the Emperor's son to be kept for me. In it were placed standards taken from the enemy, to the number of eighteen, the eleven guns, the Prince's parasol of command, and a number of other trophies of the day.

The Moors left at least 800 dead upon the field of battle, almost all cavalry; the infantry were few in number, and mostly escaped us through the ravines. The army also lost all its stores, and must have had 1500 or 2000 wounded.

Our loss was four officers killed, ten more wounded, twenty-three non-commissioned officers and soldiers killed, and eighty-six wounded.

In the opinion of the whole army the battle of Isly is the  
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consecration of our conquest of Algeria; and it cannot fail to accelerate the conclusion of our disputes with the empire of Morocco.

I cannot give too much praise to the behaviour of all arms in this action, once more a proof of the power of organization and tactics over masses that have only the advantage of numbers. On all the faces of the great lozenge formed of battalion squares, the infantry displayed imperturbable coolness. The four angle battalions were in turn attacked by 3000 or 4000 horse at once, and nothing shook them for a moment; the guns advanced before the squares to fire grape at shorter range; the cavalry, when the moment came, darted out with irresistible impetuosity, and overthrew everything before them.

According to the reports of the prisoners, and Arabs who had seen the enemy's camps, the number of his horse cannot be taken at less than 45,000. They displayed great audacity, but the confusion made their efforts ineffectual; the bravest came to get killed at point-blank range. For a good performance, they only wanted the power of union, and a well-organized infantry to support the movement.

With a government like theirs, it will require many ages to bring them up to the condition requisite for success in battle.

I cannot undertake to enumerate all the brilliant performances that marked this day; but shall not forego the pleasure of mentioning the names of soldiers of every rank that were most distinguished.

I was most perfectly seconded by Lieutenant-general de Lamoricière in the management of this battle, lasting four hours: by General Bedeau, commanding the right column; by Colonel Pelissier, commanding the left column; by Colonel Cavaignac of the 32nd, commanding the head of the centre column; by Colonel Gachot of the 3rd Light, commanding the rear-guard; by Colonel Tartas, commanding all the cavalry; by Colonel Ynsuf, who highly distinguished himself in command of the nine squadrons forming the first échelon of the cavalry; and by Colonel Morris,\* who maintained the fight upon the right bank of the Isly I have

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\* Morris, Louis-Michel, born 17th of October, 1803, entered the military school of Saint-Cyr in 1821. Entered the cavalry, went to Algeria in 1837 in the Chasseurs d'Afrique, and became Lieutenant-colonel and Colonel (1843). He was several times mentioned in general orders for his gallantry, especially at the affairs of Graba and Kammis, the capture of Abdel-Kader's smalah, and the battle of Isly. He became *Maréchal-de-camp* in 1847 and General of Division in 1851; he commanded a cavalry division in the Crimea; he also was engaged in the campaign in Italy in 1859. General Morris died in 1867. This intrepid soldier was greatly valued by Marshal Bugeaud, and no less by the Emperor, Napoleon III. His two sons are now officers.

described. Captain Bonami, commanding my sixteen guns, directed his fire very judiciously, and did me great service.

On the general staff I would mention my aide-de-camp, Colonel Eynard, Lieutenant-colonel de Crenz, Chefs - de - Escadron de Gouyon and de Martimprey, Colonel Foy, doing duty as my orderly officer; Commandant Caillé, who performed the same duty for General Bedeau; Captains de Courson, Espivent, de Cisse, Trochu; my chief interpreter, M. Léon Roches, who distinguishes himself on every occasion of war, being naturally adapted for it; lastly, the chief douair, Kaïd Mohammed Ben Kaddour, attached to my person, who captured a standard. (Then follows a list of the officers and soldiers mentioned in the order of the day.)

Receive, &c.,

BUGEAUD.

A letter, written from Blidah by Commandant Saint-Arnaud on the 28th of August, to his brother, shows the army's confidence in the Marshal.

You probably have more particulars than I of the really skillful battle the Marshal fought against the Moors on the 14th, and beat them, as he will beat all, Moors or any others who come and match themselves with him. His dispositions were admirable, and I will describe them *grosso modo* so that you may understand them. A great square of twelve battalions, two battalions in reserve, these battalions in close order so as to be able to form small detached squares in échelon at sixty paces distance; the Marshal and his staff behind the first battalion, the guns behind him, ready to fire when wanted through the openings between battalions, the cavalry right and left inside, able to get out and charge through the openings. In the centre of all the baggage, the ambulance, and the two reserve battalions. In this splendid Egyptian formation the Marshal crossed the Isly, and his little army was immediately attacked, and surrounded by a cloud of horsemen whirling round these formidable squares and meeting with a most active fire. Thus they circulated round the army. Then the Marshal launched Morris and his squadrons on the right. Morris charged most vigorously, and fell upon three or four thousand Kabyles. He formed his squadrons in square, and sent to tell the Marshal, who despatched the two reserve battalions, then he charged again and overthrew everything. The Spahis were surrounded by twenty thousand horse, and were not to be seen for half-an-hour. What courage, what perseverance, must have been necessary to perforate this mass, and put them to flight! It was done; but there were some losses of brave men. You know the rest, and the results. It

is a brilliant and glorious action, and will raise us in Europe. The Marshal has shown what he could do in a great war, and the army's confidence in him is unbounded.

September, 1844.

Always splendid in his simplicity and ability, he gives the account of his most complete victory, so well won, so cleverly prepared for. He had not a moment's doubt of success, though Lamoricière sometimes displayed anxiety.

The Marshal is really an indescribable man, interested in everything, talking of everything well and animatedly, and especially with remarkable cleverness and good sense, and with all this, illiterate, not able to explain a Latin saying or proverb, but fit for everything, and carved out of a block of granite.

An eye-witness lately told us a little-known event that occurred two days after the battle of Isly :—

The day after the battle, when we had overthrown the Moorish Emperor's son, Marshal Bugeaud was uneasy at the presence of Abdel-Kader, reported to be a day's march on our flank.

Yusuf offered to obtain exact information about the Emir. Marshal Bugeaud having perfect confidence in the sagacity and boldness of his chief of native cavalry gave him *carte blanche*.

In the evening Yusuf chose out a hundred of the best soldiers of his regiment. He dressed the Spahis as Moors—in spoils captured the day before—with a pointed head-dress, a long gun and bayonet, and black burnous; the illusion was complete. About eleven o'clock on a night so dark that it seemed made for his purpose, he started for the mountains at the head of his band of *condottieri*.

After going four or five leagues through a hilly country, the scouts sent forward came upon a post of Arabs upon reconnoissance like themselves. When these horsemen saw the armed shadows, but dimly seen by the light of just breaking day, they approached our Spahis without suspicion.

But when they found out their mistake and tried to escape, Yusuf, coming up at a gallop with the strength of his troop, surrounded them, killed some men who tried to resist, and made prisoners of the rest. Then one among them, who seemed to be their leader, was immediately questioned and searched, when, who did he turn out to be? None other than the Krodja, the private secretary of Abdel-Kader, the bearer of his official seal and valuable letters, giving the much-desired information as to the Emir's march and designs.

I leave the Marshal's demonstrative delight to be imagined

when Yusuf came back to camp about seven in the morning and gave an account of his interesting expedition.

The author of this account also added, that no one was so fit as Yusuf for these acts of daring and audacious enterprises. Under the first empire he would have been the rival of Murat, or Lasalle. While our great struggle with Abdel-Kader was going on, he had no rival. Marshal Bugeaud and General Lamoricière were his noble patrons, they knew how to obtain invaluable services from this able and brave man of war. During the hard campaign in the winter of 1842, when we may be said to have been blockaded at Mascara, Yusuf became the good genius of our little army. If an attack was in preparation against the formidable tribes, that enclosed us on every side, Yusuf, on foot, up to his knees in snow, followed by a few picked men, spent the night in scouting, and did not return till morning, with full knowledge of the enemy's position, and the value of his fire.

The effects of the battle of Isly were considerable, both in France and Europe; this time the King's Government understood that they had acted wisely in confiding to the Marshal the duty of protecting their honour, and sole judgment in military questions. King Louis-Philippe conferred the title of Duke d'Isly upon the conqueror of the Moorish army, and addressed him as follows:—

THE KING TO MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

*Neuilly, 29th August, 1844.*

MY DEAR MARSHAL,—It is with great emotion that I congratulate you upon the brilliant exploits you have added to all those that have honoured our flag. Your noble resolution to give battle at Isly, with an army so disproportioned to that you attacked

produced the same feeling in our brave soldiers that I experienced when I heard of it. I felt that this appeal to French soldiers must make them invincible; and so they were. Be, my dear Marshal, my interpreter to them. Tell them that it is in the name of France, as much as my own, that I desire you to offer to the brave army you have so gloriously led to victory the expression of national gratitude, and of the admiration inspired by its gallantry and devotion.

Receive, my dear Marshal, the assurance of all the feelings that will be always preserved towards you by

Your affectionate

LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

Victory is a convenient position, for it admits of wisdom with dignity. We had no interest in pressing hard upon the Moors, or weakening the already shaken authority of the Emperor, Abder-Rhaman, to the advantage of Abdel-Kader, whose cleverness and reputation made him more dangerous than the sovereign.

Our requirements were moderate, and negotiations were opened. They took place naturally at Tangier. The Prince de Joinville desired that France should obtain complete satisfaction; the Marshal, on the contrary, inclined to moderation, as will be seen by the following letter, written on the 3rd Sept. 1844:—

#### MARSHAL BUGEAUD TO THE PRINCE DE JOINVILLE.

As to the conditions of peace, Prince, I should be less rigorous than you, in order not to add fresh difficulties to those now existing, which are great enough. If we had not jealous England by the side of us I think we could get everything, in consequence of the success already obtained, and because the empire of Morocco is very little in condition to continue the war, as it is so disorganized and undisciplined. But in our situation with our envious neighbours we must show ourselves easy. I should not, therefore, ask the Emperor to pay us the cost of the war, nor to deliver Abdel-Kader up to us; I am convinced that the Emperor would rather run the risk of continuing a bad war than he would give a single million. I know that he is excessively sordid. As to Abdel-Kader, the Emperor could not give him up without disgracing himself in the eyes of all

his people. Let us content ourselves with requiring him to be placed in one of the coast towns, and measures taken to prevent his again levying war on the frontier.

BUGEAUD.

The Comte de Nyon, Consul-general, and chargé d'affaires, and the Duke de Glücksberg,\* secretary of the French Embassy at Madrid, were commissioned to pursue the negotiations with the Prince de Joinville.

M. Guizot writes to these diplomatists :—

The brilliant successes gained by our sea and land forces in the struggle between us and Morocco have made no change in the intentions that the King's Government had adopted before the commencement of the struggle.

What we then demanded, as conditions necessary to the re-establishment of amicable relations between the two countries, and as the only surety that could properly secure us against the repetition of the events that have disturbed our relations, is still our demand to-day, with no addition. For the end we have in view is always the same, and no desire for aggrandisement mingles with our absolutely settled resolution not to allow the rights and dignity of France to be ignored.

The extraordinary collections of Moorish troops formed on our frontier near Ouchda must be immediately broken up.

An exemplary chastisement must be inflicted upon the authors of the outrages committed upon our territory since the 30th of May.

Abdel-Kader must be expelled from the Moorish territory, and never again receive support or assistance of any kind.

Lastly, a complete and regular definition of boundary between Algeria and Morocco must be settled and agreed upon in conformity with the state of things recognised by Morocco itself, at the time of the Turkish rule in Algiers.

The plenipotentiaries had orders to go on board one of the vessels of our squadron before Tangier, and to deliver a letter, for the Emperor, to the authorities of that town, informing him that if he

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\* The Duke de Glücksberg was the son of the Duke Decazes, the old Liberal Minister of the Restoration, and Grand Referendary of the Chamber of Peers, under King Louis-Philippe.

purely and simply accepted the conditions of this ultimatum, they were authorised to treat upon this basis.

MM. de Nyon and de Glücksberg left Cadiz with the Prince de Joinville in the *Suffren*, and the day after their arrival off Tangier, the 10th of September, they wrote that there was great impatience in the city, and that Sidi Bousselam, Pasha of the northern provinces of Morocco, and the Emperor's confidant, was anxiously expecting their arrival, and the communications they had to make him. The signature of the convention immediately took place; one text in French, and one in Arabic, duly signed and sealed, remained in the hands of Sidi Bousselam; the two other instruments were taken to Paris by the young Duke de Glücksberg.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### RETURN TO FRANCE (1844-5).

Numerous Addresses to the Marshal—His own view of the Battle—Letters to M. Gardère and to his Daughter—Sword of Honour given by the Algerians—A point in Kabylia—Fight of Abizzar—Return to France—Ovations—The Marshal's position in France—Annoyance with the Ministers—Speech in the Chamber—Banquet at the Bourse—Return to Africa.

THE Marshal landed at Algiers the 5th of September. On the 14th a solemn Te Deum was sung at the church of Notre Dame des Victoires, rue Bab-El-Oued, in celebration of the victory of Isly. The Marshal was present, with the high officers and a deputation from the army.

As soon as the account of the victory was known in France, addresses and congratulatory letters poured in upon the Marshal from all parts of the kingdom. The secretaries of the Marshal were kept employed in answering them; one to Doctor Menière, his old companion at Blaye, gives a good idea of these letters, though it is not the Marshal's own writing, and contains a curious view of the battle.

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MY DEAR MENIÈRE,—Your heart would have leaped for joy, if you could have seen the eagerness of my little army on the morning of the 14th, when it came in sight of the crowds of Moorish cavalry in battle array, before several lines of tents, our prize of victory; if you had seen its splendid bearing in forming order of battle at our enemy's first attacks, and when it advanced majestically amid these masses, despising on its way the thousand-fold repeated shocks of the most famous horsemen of Morocco; if you had seen the impetuosity of our cavalry rushing to the charge, its courage and coolness fighting one against ten.

It was very necessary that it should be so, my dear Menière, for it was victory or perfect ruin for us ; if we had shown weakness in a single spot, we should have all been eaten up, from the smallest soldier to your dear Marshal ; and what is more, all Algeria would have gone. With this alternative, it was then indispensable to conquer, and that is what we did.

I need not tell you, my dear Menière, what pleasure your letter gave me ; I was so glad to receive your congratulations, and thank you from the bottom of my heart.

In a letter to his friend Gardère the Marshal says :

Never has intoxication of victory been more prolonged than mine ; now for nearly six weeks has one-third of my time been taken up in answering, or having answered by the officers around me, the letters of congratulation that come to me from everywhere, and all ranks of society. I have even received a most flattering letter from a trumpeter of the town of Montpellier, who was a light company bugler in the terrible 14th of the line. He reminds me of all the fights he was in with me in Spain and on the Alps. Remember, says he, how we made the English\* jump at Ordal, and the Austrians and Hungarians dance at l'Hôpital. 'When you led us we were sure of victory.'

The praises of these simple and excellent men stirred me to the bottom of my heart ; I hope to see my light-bob when I pass Montpellier.

Another letter is to his daughter :—

MARSHAL BUGEAUD to MDLLE. LEONIE BUGEAUD, AT EXCIDEUIL.

*Algiers, 1 November, 1844.*

DEAR AND GOOD LÉONIE,—I want to tell you that this time I have come back to Algeria, after a triumph over the Kabyles of the east of the Agalik of Dellys, who had resisted the column of brave General Comman. I am especially glad of this speedy success, as it will bring me nearer to you and to all that is dear to me. I shall start on the 15th of December, and go straight to Paris ; stay there five or six days, and then fly to you ; then we will return to Paris together, and if you are bold enough to come to Africa with me in May, I shall be very glad. Meanwhile, how I long to press you in my arms, and talk to you about your future, which I am always thinking about. The French mail comes in

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\* Anglo-Sicilians, vol. i., p. 79.

and goes out at once. I have your mother's letter of the 24th, and will answer it on the 10th.

Adieu, my dear daughter; never has anyone been loved as I love you.

BUGBAUD.

The agricultural society of Algiers, in the name of the civil population of the colony, Paris and Périgueux, requested permission from the Government to offer a sword of honour, purchased by voluntary subscription, to the Marshal Duke d'Isly. The King, by a double ordinance of the 13th of November, 1844, acceded to this wish, and allowed the Marshal to accept this evidence of public recognition and esteem. There was also a grand review, and reception of Arab chiefs. All the principal chiefs of Algeria, the Tell, and the Sahara, were there, three years before not more than four or five chiefs of the plains were the most that could be collected to salute the new Governor. One curious feature of the entertainment was, that being the fast of the Ramadan, all these Mahometan guests were obliged to wait to seat themselves at table till gun-fire announced sunset, and permission to break their fast.

The great official painter, Horace Vernet, who had already ornamented the galleries of Versailles with a picture of the capture of the smalah, forwarded his preparatory sketch of the battle of Isly to the Marshal, who pointed out to him that Colonel Rivet should occupy the place given to Colonel Daumas, who was doing good service elsewhere.

The Marshal had not long returned to Algiers, when he was obliged to pay attention to the Kabyles of Dellys, whom he had been obliged to leave some-

what in haste, to proceed to the Moorish frontier. When Ben Salem felt the removal of danger, he again became adventurous, and issued from his retreat, with the support of Bel Cassem. Towards the end of September, General Comman was sent into this district with a column of about 3000 men. On the 17th of October he found himself on the territory of the Flissa-el-Bahr, in front of a considerable number of Kabyles, near Tlélat. There was a serious engagement, and very murderous to us, and the General retired upon Dellys, where he arrived upon the 19th. The Marshal hastened to the spot, and found himself in front of 4000 Kabyles, posted upon the rocky and wooded banks that overhang the Abizzar, a formidable position that must be attacked without hesitation. His daring was successful. His presence tenfold multiplied the animation of the troops, and the enemy was successively dislodged from the ridge of abrupt crests on a line of more than a league. The dash and energy of the army were admirable upon this field of battle, described by an eye-witness as perfect chaos.

For the present, peace was secured. As for Abdel-Kader, he was patiently waiting in Morocco, a few leagues from our frontiers, for events to put him on the stage again. The Emperor, Muley-Abder-Rhaman, had in vain ordered him to go to Fez : the Emir paid no attention to the injunction.

The Governor-general sailed for Marseilles on the 16th of November, after handing over the command of the troops and the rest of his powers to General Lamoricière. He had no sooner set foot upon French soil, than a grand manifestation took place in honour of the victor of Isly. The banquet

given by the merchants of Marseilles in the great theatre was very much thought of. Though half a century has passed, it seems the inhabitants of the city still preserve the remembrance of this patriotic solemnity, and the homage paid to the illustrious soldier.

Before his entrance into Paris, the Marshal chose to go and embrace his family at La Durantie. Crossing Périgueux to reach the capital, he had to receive the enthusiastic homage of his countrymen. Several banquets were given him ; official receptions, ovations, speeches, serenades, triumphal arches ; nothing was spared him. The excitement was general, and all parties united in celebrating the Marshal's coming to his good town of Périgueux.

We will not quote the toasts of the Prefect, M. de Marcillac, nor of the Mayor, M. de Trémisot ; we only preserve one of the Marshal's numerous replies :—

GENTLEMEN,— You make me bend under the weight of honours. You touch my heart ; you intoxicate me. I have hardly recovered from the excitement I felt at the brilliant reception I received at Marseilles, and now I find myself in the midst of feasts, arranged at Excideuil.

I left the town this morning ; the country labourers ran as I passed ; they wanted to see me, and pay me compliments. I come here, and am in the midst of a population making holiday, who awaited me with fresh ovations. I have received the homage of the authorities of the National Guard of the Working Men's Corporation. I have been taken to banquets, where the industrial population was in the majority, and I, the child of my own deeds, have been able to fraternise with the children of the people. I come here into this city and here receive new homage, fresh honours. It is too much. Certainly it is enough to make a man go out of his mind. But I feel that a great portion of these manifestations is addressed to the army of Africa, so valiant, so tried, and whom I will inform how you reward it for its labours and successes. A large portion is also due to the King's Government, who neglect nothing for the success

of our arms, for the well-doing of the soldier, and the glory of our flag.

When the Duke d'Isly reached Paris, he was immediately received by the King. It must be said that the sovereign and his Government were not sparing in their congratulations and eulogiums of the Marshal. No doubt it was against the advice of the Government that the Marshal had engaged in the battle; but there was the success, and the conqueror of Isly had never failed to unite the Government with himself in the homage he had received on his passage through Marseilles and Périgord. There was a kind of truce in the opposition press : in fact any attack at this moment would have been inopportune, and very clumsy. The old feeling of 'chauvinism' aroused by the combats and victories in Morocco was too sensitive for the Republicans and Legitimists to venture on irritating it at this moment. Even in the Chamber there was a calm. Since the return of Napoleon from his campaigns, no general had received a warmer or more sincere ovation from the people. At this moment, Marshal Bugeaud was the second personage in the realm; his loyalty and patriotism placed him above all suspicion of personal ambition; but it may be clearly stated, at this moment the King's personality was the only one overtopping his.

The King and Princes never ceased to pay the great soldier the respect so rightly his due. Yet some members of the Cabinet could not see the homage paid to a soldier who never had been, and never was, a member of the ministry, without jealousy. The following letter, written from Exci-deuil to M. Gardère, is an evidence of this feeling, which was never shared by M. Guizot :—

*Excideuil, 2 January, 1845.*

You do not wish me, my dear Gardère, to answer your letter of 29th of December, but as the crowd has not come yet, I have time to write you a few lines to-day.

Others besides you have remarked upon the silence of the government papers about the honours given me. I do not know what to attribute this to, as three ministers have congratulated me very frankly. No doubt they thought the report of the Marseilles ovation was enough. They are much mistaken if they think I seek for this homage; I have refused much more than I have accepted. All the towns of the Dordogne have sent deputations, inviting me to banquets.

It seems there was an intention at the War Ministry of rescinding the ordinance on Algeria, without consulting the Cabinet or me. I think this came rather from aberration of judgment than from ill-will to me. They were convinced, like true coach flies, that Algeria could not exist without this work so long elaborated by these said flies.\* By force of labouring at it, they have made themselves believe that it was extremely pressing, when it is not the slightest use. Little minds that think they can and ought to move the world every moment.

They are very much like our reformers, who desire with all their might the reordering of all society. But the alarm has been given in time. I know that several ministers are going to desire that this Penelope's web shall be reviewed by the Council of State. It is a dilatory method that may well terminate in rejection.

We accept your entertainment with much pleasure. Odiot or Eynard will tell you where we lodge. We shall reach Paris on the 19th or 20th.

As soon as the Chambers opened, the Marshal, as Deputy for Excideuil, was constantly in attendance. The opportunity was too good for him to let slip the chance of defending his policy, and answering his enemies. On the 24th of January, 1845, he made a most important speech on the subject of the treaty with Morocco. All his ideas as to fighting the Arabs, and the plan of government and colonisation, are contained in this speech, which is a kind of summary of his doctrine and principles:—

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Well, I will freely confess, that when the treaty came out, I was

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\* *La Fontaine.* Book vii. Fable IX.—*Ed.*

not altogether pleased with it. It could hardly be so very surprising that the general of an army that has conquered Algeria at the cost of so many labours, so much blood, so much devotion, looks upon the treaty from another point of view than the Government.

The Speaker explains his views, and avows that while he assents to the conditions of the treaty that exacted no indemnity from Morocco, he regrets that stipulations as to Abdel-Kader were not introduced.

Certainly there would have been difficulties ; the army, instead of recruiting its strength by the sea, must have re-entered Morocco, and the fleet kept the coast at the worst season of the year, and the army must have left some points uncovered. The army is really numerically weak for all the work it has to do. It is by the action of movable troops that we are masters everywhere, by the moral power that results from material power intelligently applied. The army has work to do as well as fighting ; as soon as they are off a campaign, they go to work.

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All measures were taken to form, not a great army, for that was impossible, but a little body of troops inured to war, who, by their harmony and power of union, might overcome multitudes who had not the power that organization, discipline, and tactics alone can give to masses. . . . Immediately after the battle of Isly, we might have marched as far as Fez without meeting with serious resistance. But the heat was more serious than resistance. That made a material impossibility.

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As for the razzias, that have been so much objected to, I ask if there was any other means of concluding the war ? In Europe there are other means of touching the enemy's interests. His capital can be taken, the main roads interrupted, and the river navigation ; and when the vital parts of a country are thus held, it must capitulate. But in Africa there are no capitals, no towns, no villages, no farms, only agricultural interest. It is all over the face of the country, and must be hunted over every acre. . . . The army has also been a most efficient aid in civilisation. In two years it has made five hundred leagues of road, sixteen bridges, a number of edifices, and built several villages. Blame has been thrown upon three expeditions made last year, supposed to be only for the purpose of getting glory. Do you know why we went to Biskra, and to the Ouled Nail, which are three hundred leagues from the coast ? Why, to open up trade roads to the interior. We did like the English, made war for profit. . . . The general results, gentlemen, you know. You know



that Abdel-Kader has been driven from the granite edifice he had created, and we have pulled it down bit by bit. We have driven him off into the interior of Morocco; but that does not mean to say that he will not return. I even believe I can prophesy that he will return. He will not come back dangerous, but he will come back a plotter, and therefore we must always remain strong and vigilant. That is my motto. You rule the whole country from the frontier of Tunis to the territory of Morocco. There only remains a small district 80 leagues long and 30 broad, commonly called Kabylia. These are the mountains between Bougie and Djijilly, a very difficult country, very rough mountains, peopled by very powerful men, energetic and excellent foot-soldiers. It is not impossible to subdue them; the army of Africa does not know much of impossibilities of this kind. It is not urgent, but must be done, sooner or later. . . . Limited occupation far from being a pacific system, as its partisans believe, would expose us to a perpetual war. . . . So we shall be obliged to take Kabylia one day or other.\* As well as conquering the Arabs, you have organized their government, just in the same way as Abdel-Kader did. . . . We are in a position to make the Arabs repent any insurrection, but they must be made to feel the employment of force as little as possible. It is by a government strong, and at the same time paternal, that we can obtain the submission of the Arabs, not a universal submission. There will still be some insurrections, but they will be rare; and thus European civilisation will spread more easily.

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We believe that there is a population of about four million Arabs. Now the Arabs are all warriors. There is not one who is not a capital rider; they all have a horse and a gun; all are warriors, from the old man of eighty to the boy of fifteen, and this population of four millions includes not less than five or six hundred thousand warriors, all very skilful as individuals. . . . These are the considerations that have led me to desire the establishment of military colonisation inland, at the same time as civil colonisation on the coast. Our colonists must never let their muskets rust, but be always ready to catch them up, and be disciplined, for it is only discipline that gives strength to masses.

I insist very much on this notion of military colonisation. It seems to me fundamental. You have established your rule. Civil colonisation is well begun, now the work is to secure the future. This future lies in military colonisation, or in a numerous permanent

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\* The conquest of Kabylia begun by Marshal Bugeaud in 1844, was resumed in 1849 and 1851 by General Saint-Arnaud, and interrupted by his recall to France. Continued in 1852 by General Bosquet, in 1853 by General Randon, it was completed in 1857 under Marshal Randon's Government.

army that I should like to see amount to a hundred thousand men. This idea is not novel.

As for the difficulties to be conquered, I do not conceal them. But I ask if we have done anything easily in Africa. Was the subjugation of the Arabs easy? It was so difficult that many who had been engaged in the work thought it impossible. And it is proved by their wishing to surround themselves with a ditch, remain on the coast, and keep themselves away from an enemy they thought uncatchable. The army by its persevering devotion has triumphed over all these obstacles. An enterprise that I myself believed to be unfortunate, and burdensome to our European policy is now in a condition that offers the brightest hope. Nothing now is to be done but to secure the future, and, in my opinion, it is military colonisation that will secure this object. (Very good, very good.)

This speech was followed by prolonged excitement. It is easy to understand the attention excited by this publication of principle. The Marshal's opponents in the Chamber and in the press, face to face with the victor, laid down their arms for a time, but this truce was of short duration. Besides, they were at this moment silenced by public opinion, and the just popularity enjoyed by the conqueror of Algeria.

Paris, the light and capricious city above all others, feasted him with transport. He became the hero of the day, and every one wanted a near view of him before he went back to Africa. And then the famous banquet of merchants in Paris was arranged in his honour.

The banquet offered by the merchants of Paris to Marshal Bugeaud, the victor of Isly, and the princes of the royal family, took place on the 18th of March, 1845, at the Bourse. This imposing fête assumed the proportions of an event in France and Algeria. Fifteen tables were set. Marshal Bugeaud was placed in the centre at the table of honour. At his right the

Duke de Nemours, and his brothers the Prince de Joinville, the Duke d'Aumale, and the Duke de Montpensier. On the Marshal's left were seated M. Gouin, former minister, the chairman of the banquet, the minister of commerce, the governor of the bank, the prefects of the Seine, and of the police, and after them the other invited guests. Several toasts were drunk. The King, the princes, the army, the trade of Paris. After an animated speech from the Duke de Nemours in reply to the King's health, the Marshal thus replied to the healths of himself and the army, proposed by M. Odier and M. Blanqui :—

GENTLEMEN,—I have had the honour of being already received and feasted in several towns, but I was far from expecting such a manifestation from the leaders of a city that is the centre of the commerce, the industry, the sciences, and the arts of the world. I quite understand the intention of this demonstration ; I know that in my person you honour those who far or near have co-operated in the grand enterprise we are all pursuing. You have already paid a large share to these young princes, the hopes of France. You have also nobly recognised the services the army has rendered. Allow me in my turn to point out the rights of the Government to your gratitude. It is they who have supplied the means of working well, and who have tacitly pledged their reputation upon it.

The Marshal then mentioned some considerations on the final system adopted for war and colonisation, and pointed out the immense advantages that the safety of our possessions would secure to the trade of France.

After reminding his hearers that the trade between Algeria and France had the year before amounted to eighty millions, he stated his conviction that in ten or twelve years Algeria would be able to support herself. And he wound up thus—

GENTLEMEN,—I am proud of your support, but I know all the zeal and perseverance it requires from me. I go away in two

days, and shall repeat to our soldiers the flattering words that you have addressed to them ; it will be their fairest reward.

The banquet at the Paris Bourse was, in some respects, the culminating point of Marshal Bugeaud's military glory during his life ; he often recurred to it in his familiar talk. This spontaneous ovation, offered by the great city, was in his eyes the sanctification of his system and his views about Africa, and the crowning point of his life.

## CHAPTER IX.

### BOU-MAZA AND THE DAHRA (1845).

Return to Algiers—First Rising of 1845—Appearance of Bou-Maza—Rainy Campaign in the Ouarensenis—Saint-Arnaud and the Sherifs—Pelissier at the Caves of Dahra—Summer Campaign in Kabylia—Ratification of Treaty with the Moors—Return to France in September.

ALTHOUGH the Marshal was the object of ovations in France he longed to return to Algeria, the scene of his exploits. The work of colonisation and conquest was far from complete, and no one knew better than he did what still remained to be done. This time the Governor-general returned to his post, invested with the confidence of his sovereign and of the nation, and crowned with the prestige of victory. On his arrival, he issued the following general order :

*Head-quarters, Algiers, 29th March, 1845.*

Citizens and soldiers of Algeria, I have returned to my government, happy to be again associated with the destinies of our conquest.

I have been very well satisfied to see that nothing was in danger during my absence. Progress of every kind has been continued, notwithstanding the extraordinary winter we have experienced.

No military event of any consequence has marked this period of four months, except the attack of some fanatics upon our post of Sidi-bel-Abbès. This strange occurrence gave our soldiers a fresh occasion for showing their immovable firmness.

Thus, on returning to you, I should only have subjects of satisfaction, but for the sad event of the powder-magazine explosion on the mole.

You will be glad to learn that our noble enterprise is as successful in France as it is in Africa. Almost all the citizens and public men believe in it; the trade of the North, of the East, the West, and the

metropolis, has been excited by the extraordinary increase of the exportation of our woven fabrics to the interior of Africa; an exportation that cannot but increase by the new trade routes that we count upon opening out through the little desert.

So our cause is now before the public mind. It will every day be more influential, through the valour and labours of the army, the activity and courageous perseverance of the colonists, and especially the intelligent care of the Government.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

This was the proclamation with which the conqueror of Isly announced his impatiently expected return to the colony, after his triumphal journey of five months in France.

The two unfortunate events alluded to in the general order were the explosion of the powder-magazine at Algiers and the surprise of Sidi-bel-Abbès.

On Saturday the 8th of March, at ten o'clock in the evening, two loud explosions, followed by successive detonations, were heard from the dockyard buildings. The lodgings of the Commandant of artillery, and of the artillery and engineer artificers, the houses of the Naval Commissioner, and of the Harbour-master, had been blown away. The military storekeeper, the armourer sergeant-major, his wife and child, 43 artillery artisans, 31 sappers, 10 gunners, and 2 workmen, had been killed, and there were 30 wounded. Only one non-commissioned officer, who was clever enough to take refuge in a casemate at the first explosion, was saved.

There was also the loss to be lamented of the Commandant of artillery, Palard, and the Harbour-master's wife, Madame Segretier.

We find an account of the surprise of Sidi-bel-Abbès in the *Echo d'Oran*, of the 1st and 8th of Feb., 1845.

The fort of Sidi-bel-Abbès, eighteen leagues south of Oran, half-way between Mascara and Tlemcen, is composed of a redoubt and an entrenched camp; a battalion of the 6th line regiment is posted there, and two squadrons of Spahis.

On the 31st of January, in the morning, Commanding-officer Vinoy had gone with his cavalry to a neighbouring tribe, from whom some cattle had been stolen. About ten o'clock, that is to say, the soldiers' meal-time, some Arabs, to the number of about sixty, arrived at the entrance of the camp with some children in front of them. Most of them carried travellers' staves; no weapons were visible. They attended to present a petition to the Commandant. The sentry allowed the foremost of them to enter; and soon, distrusting the mien of these visitors, he endeavoured to stop the rest, and was laid dead on the spot by a pistol-shot. The report was the signal for attack: all these fanatics rushed into the camp, pulled hidden weapons from under their garments, and attacked our soldiers quite unexpectedly. The Commandant's house was attacked, the orderly killed at the door. Our soldiers rushed for their arms, threw themselves on the Arabs, who attempted to escape; the exit was already guarded; all that had entered were put to death, and fifty-eight bodies were found. This hand-to-hand fight, with men determined to sacrifice their lives, cost us dear; our killed and wounded amount to more than thirty.

A cannon-shot informed Commandant Vinoy. He brought back to the camp the douars of the men that had been killed, containing only the women, children, old men, and cattle.

Although the event at Sidi-bel-Abbès was less murderous than the accident to the powder-magazine at Algiers, it had a much more grave significance. It taught us that the religious fanaticism of the Arabs had only been momentarily stifled by the boldness and number of the military expeditions incessantly persevered in, for four years, by the Marshal and his lieutenants. This attack, in open peace, by sixty fanatics, sacrificing their lives in the attempt to capture a blockhouse was a symptom, the gravity of which could not fail to be appreciated by Marshal Bugeaud. Landing on the 25th of March he determined to show himself almost immediately in the West, and proceeded thither on the 31st. He made

mention of this first voyage and of his further projects to his faithful confidant, Gardère, in the following short letter, signed, 'Your very much hurried friend:—

*Algiers, 10th April, 1845.*

MY DEAR GARDÈRE,—We had a capital passage, and yet the ladies were sea-sick. As soon as I arrived I went to Oran and showed myself on the frontier, so that there should be no doubt of my being there. I have been careful to spread a report that I am ready to support the Emperor against Abdel-Kader, who seems inclined to rise against his religious chief, where he has received hospitality.

I have given up the grand expedition against the mountains of Bougie. The Government did not care about it, and would not take the responsibility of it; the public and the Chambers were against it. To proceed with perfect prudence there must have been reinforcements; those they would not give me. And so I shall confine myself to completing the subjection of the basin of the Oued Sebaou. In it there are still numerous and warlike tribes that could collect 10,000 foot, and would probably receive large reinforcements from their neighbours in the East. There will be some serious fighting. Lamoricière will extend our possessions to the south of Oran to open trade routes to the desert for us. Bedeau will subdue the Aures.

The Marshal had embarked in the *Cameleon*, Captain Fourichon, on the 31st of March, and had only shown himself in the West at the town of Oran and the post of Djema Ghazaouat, upon the extreme frontier, a place that was to acquire such a sad notoriety before the end of the year. He returned to Algiers by the 6th of April, intending, as observed in the former letter, to leave Lamoricière the work of extending our authority in the south of Oran, and keeping for himself a military expedition of secondary importance upon the Oued Sebaou.

His making this a secondary project was, as he allows it to be understood, in obedience to the desire



of the Chambers and the Government. Indeed, if he had been left to act upon his own views, during the seven years of his rule, whenever Abdel-Kader left him a respite he would have constantly pursued his intention of extending the French dominion over the whole of Algeria by subduing Kabylia.

But while he was thinking of Kabylia, the West was going to summon him again. At the very moment when the Marshal was mentioning his intentions to Gardère, a holy war was being preached in the Dahra, dependent partially upon the subdivision of Orléansville, under the command of Colonel de Saint-Arnaud. The banner of the Prophet had been unfurled by the most formidable adversary we had encountered in Africa, after the Emir, the Sherif Mohammed ben Abdallah, whom the French, perhaps more than the Arabs, called by the popular name of Bou-Maza, the man of the goat.

The Arab people have not only military chiefs, but also religious leaders. There are among them three classes of nobility; nobles by birth, temporal or military nobles, and religious nobles.

1st. Noble by birth, sherif, is the title of every Mohammedan who can by formal rule prove that he is a descendant of Fatima Zohra, the Prophet's daughter, or of his uncle. Mahomet himself may be said to have founded this order of nobility in high repute among the Arabs. Indeed, several passages of the Koran enjoin that the greatest respect is to be paid to men descended from his blood, and that they will be the most steady supporters and future purifiers of Mahometan law. The Arabs in general show great deference to the Sheurfa (plural of sherif), and give them the title of Sidi, my lord.

Their number is so considerable that they compose special *farka* in certain tribes ; the external marks of respect paid them vary in different localities. The Sherif is subject to the law, but has in Mahometan countries the right of appealing to a judgment of his peers. Thus Abdel-Kader reserved the right of judging them to himself. The Sheurfa enjoy prerogatives that are more moral than material, and their influence is not to be measured by the honours paid them. A great many of the Sheurfa have been Marabouts, but this union of two distinct characters is only accidental.

2nd. The members of the military nobility among the Arabs bear the name of djouad. They are the descendants of old and illustrious families in the country ; or, again, scions of a famous tribe, the Koreish, of whom Mahomet was one. If the latter, they call themselves by the name of dhaouda, and are a superior nobility to the djouad. The most of the djouad derive their origin from the Mehhal, conquerors that came from the East in the train of the Prophet's companions. The djouad compose the military element in Arab society. It is they, followed by their dependants, who lead the Arabs to war, for they are almost their rulers. The man of the people, the vassal, has often to suffer from the authority of the Djouad, whose ill-usage is forgiven, and influence maintained, because they freely grant hospitality and protection to those who claim it. Custom has riveted the chain that binds the man of the people to the Djouad, or Sheiks, old or learned men.

3rd. The religious nobility deserves careful study. Its influence over the Arabs is even more powerful, though it is not founded upon the same basis.

Marabout is the past-participle of the verb *rebat*, to bind. The Marabout is the man bound to God, devoted to the observation of the precepts in the Koran. He it is, in the eyes of the people, who preserves the Mahometan faith intact; he is the man who has drawn most near to the Divinity in prayer. So his words become oracles, superstition requires them to be obeyed, and they settle private disputes and questions of general interest. It is thus that the Marabouts have often prevented bloodshed by reconciling hostile tribes, and have preached war against the infidel, Koran in hand. The religious nobility is hereditary, like the two other orders. In honour of old Marabouts, specially revered, are founded Marabout shrines; and generally round these buildings the Marabouts establish a kind of douar, that takes the name of Zaouïa.

The Zaouïa have for their chief the most important man of the collection of Marabouts. One of the first duties of his position is the exercise of hospitality towards all travellers and Mahometan strangers. Even criminals find shelter with him; and thus it is that some shrines, which we commonly call Marabouts, are an invulnerable asylum in the eyes of the Arabs. These religious collections—kind of abbeys, convents, or seminaries—are so numerous in certain tribes, such as the Hachem, that they form special divisions in them. The Marabouts as a rule do no manual work. Within the Zaouïas they employ themselves in teaching a certain number of men or children sent them by the tribes. These disciples or scholars take the name of *tôlba* (*taleb*, learned), and become schoolmasters in the towns, assistants to the Cadi, and sometimes even Cadis. It would be a mistake to suppose that every

Sherif, Djouad, or Marabout, occupies a high position in Arab society. On the contrary, they are daily to be seen engaged in common occupations. But though all members of these classes do not enjoy an equal share of consideration and influence, it may at least be said that there is neither power nor influence but with them. Some of the neighbouring land, mostly derived from gifts of the pious, is cultivated by the men of the Zaouïa, and finds them in food. Large offerings and provisions of all kinds are offered to the Marabout and those who live with him learning law. Sometimes, in consequence of old religious obligations, the neighbours of the Zaouïa pay it the aachour, or tithe; although this payment has never had a binding character at law.

General de Bourjolly, Commandant at Mostaganem, wished to carry assistance to his neighbour, Colonel Saint-Arnaud. But the spring floods had carried away the bridge of the lower Chélif, and the General could not cross the river till the 18th of April. Before he could reach the scene of hostilities, the Sherif, when Saint-Arnaud\* thought he was pursuing the remnants of the party, appeared on the 20th upon the road between Tenès and Orléansville and made a brisk attack upon a detachment of the garrison of Tenès at work on the road, wounded four men, and carried off our tents and working tools.

Next day, the 21st, the Marabout insulted our advanced posts at Tenès, and on the 22nd dared to

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\* A letter of Saint-Arnaud's to his brother mentions that he had attacked the Sherif's camp of 600 men, killed sixty, cut off three heads, taken fourteen prisoners and a standard. 'To-morrow,' he says, 'I shall pursue the remains of the sherif's band. He is a young man of twenty, with scars on his forehead and nose, giving himself airs of importance and playing Sultan; four chaoushes at his tent, not receiving every man, only every present.'

attack a convoy, though it was escorted by 500 French soldiers under Commandant Prevost, just landed from France.

The Marshal writes in the columns of his *Moniteur Algérien* as a reply to the theories of the Chambers and the metropolitan papers that all these events must show the partisans of the pacific system the necessity of our remaining strong and watchful ; and unable to disarm in presence of a warlike people, who are kept down, but will be long before they are assimilated.

Other proofs of insurrectionary agitation induced the Marshal to protest against the eternal reproach cast by the civilians against the soldiers, that they fomented or even invented war for their own advantage. Two of these events were that some tents of the Beni-Amer had started off by night intending to emigrate to Morocco ; they were caught by Commandant Vinoy, and a fight ensued, when our men lost five killed and twelve wounded. They remained masters of the ground, but could not bring back the emigrants. The Khalifa of Laghouat, on his way to Medeah with cattle to pay the tribute of the Zecca, was attacked in the desert by a rebel chief of the Ouled-Nails, named Bedly. His force was dispersed, he lost cattle, tents, and baggage, but managed to reach Medeah with the chief part of his followers.

‘ This is what ought to prove to the most obstinate adherents of the pacific system that we must fight until we have no more enemies. How could anyone suppose that we should be so cruel and stupid as to make war unnecessarily, and for the sole pleasure of fighting ? Have not our troops enjoyed this to satiety for the last fifteen years ? Do they see that we are attacking the subject tribes within a zone of fifty

leagues from the sea? Far from it, we regulate them, we take care of their interests, their religion, and their law. We make them weirs, roads, and bridges, and we war not except against highway robbers. Again, it is the tribes themselves that arrest them, not our soldiers.'

The letter to Colonel Saint-Arnaud from the Marshal which we now give is most instructive. Besides giving some information as to events of the war, it contains the principles of war as applied by the great soldier to his struggle with the Arabs in a short and striking form.

*Algiers, 24th April, 1845.*

MY DEAR SAINT-ARNAUD, — As it is the Beni-Hidja who have made two attacks upon our little camp in front of Tenès, I have reason to fear that the insurrection will spread through all the eastern mountains, and am taking measures in consequence. I suspend my movement to the east of Algiers; and I send off a battalion of the 64th from Milianah to join you with a convoy of flour. This battalion and the 500 men of the African battalion are to remain under your orders until perfect peace is restored around you, in all your subdivision and all the Dahra. So you will have seven battalions, and I hope you will be able to march with five at least, six would be better, so as not to incur the appearance of a failure that might increase our enemy's presumption.

Do not trouble yourself with the left bank, there are symptoms of a revolt there as I hear from Milianah. I shall go thither on the 3rd with a column large enough to make the Ouarensenis repent of its attempts. I shall also be in a position to operate from there against the Beni-Ferah and Zatima. This is a moment of crisis to pass, and I hope it will turn to the benefit of our rule.

But for that purpose we must strike very hard upon the insurgents, and secure the disarmament and capture of horses as much as possible.

The Beni-Hidja tribe deserve the most severe and most exemplary punishment. You must perseveringly hang on to them like a plague. Deprive them of all their harvests, cut down their fruit-trees of all kinds; they must be ruined for a long time, unless they consent to give up their guns, and horses, and a large war contribution.

General de Bourjolly will not be able to remain long in the

Dahra, because he will be obliged to go and watch the country on the Mina from very close. But he may, on his way back, if necessary, search the enemy's country after he has taken up plenty of food at Tenès or Orléansville. I am writing to him to this effect. If it was necessary, you could go with him into the Dahra for a few days.

Act in concert with him to establish our authority firmly in this country. It has not sufficiently felt the weight of our arms, and must now be made to feel it severely.

I send Staff-captain Lepasset to take the place of the unlucky Beatrix. He is a clever man, and can speak, read, and write Arabic. I recommend him especially to you.

Now, I want to speak to you of this inconvenient camp in front of Tenès, on the other side of the gorge. I do not know who is the author. Is it Cavaignac or Claparède? Whoever it is, I blame him very much. It is such posts, established unnecessarily, and against all the principles I have so often explained to you, that bring reversea. It is very fortunate that the disaster was not greater. I had never heard anything about this camp; not a word has ever been said to me about it in any report. I thought that it was only a movable camp of the working parties, and even in that case would it not have been much better to let the troops come back to the town every evening when the work was only a league away? I have given orders that it is not to be abandoned at this moment, as that would produce a bad moral effect; but it must be abandoned without scruple when you are acting vigorously against the Beni-Hidja.

If it was indispensable, for the road and the water-channel works, as I can hardly believe, you might leave it till the work is done. After that it must be withdrawn, and this decision will not be reversed. If you keep it, even for a time, it must be impregnable. Without this post there would probably have only been an insurrection in the open, the enemy would not have dared to attack Tenès, as they have not done so, though our force is divided. This detachment of fifty or sixty men tempted the devil; it was the proper time to retire it when Claparède came out with the most available forces. This mania for scattering the forces and making them immovable must be most inveterately fixed in men's minds for them still to follow it so often, against our numerous written and spoken words repudiating the system.

Let me know the position of affairs as often as possible by Tenès and by Milianah. We must take advantage of the opportunity by forming a little territory round Tenès, at the expense of the tribes, or portions of tribes, that have joined in the revolt. Take everything that is convenient to us, and have the deprived ones compensated by the rest of the tribes. We must act as conquerors and masters. *Væ victis!*

A thousand devotions and affections.

(Signed)

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

P.S.—Spare the magazines of Orléansville as much as possible ; victual the columns at Tenès as far as may be so as to avoid carriage from one point to another.

When there was an opportunity to do the work in person, the Marshal was not the man to waste time in barren polemics. After making a diversion to Cherchell by sea on the 25th, he started on the 3rd of May by land, passing by Milianah at the head of the expeditionary column for the Dahra. The Duke de Montpensier was with him.

The operations were constantly impeded by frightful weather. In the Ouarensenis the Marshal kept moving about under torrents of rain, almost without result. The insurgents, who had known him long ago, avoided engaging him, and preferred to fall upon his lieutenant, Saint-Arnaud, operating separately with a weaker column. The Marshal never encountered the mass of the enemy, and only obtained incomplete submission, sometimes only pretended.

From the 4th to the 25th of May there was very little but an attack upon the rear-guard by an insurgent chief, Omar-ben-Ismaïl, on the 13th. The attack was repulsed by Colonel Renault, of the 6th Light. The Marshal sent off the available cavalry, and they killed about a dozen men, and carried off a small number of cattle for these wars, 300 head. On the 26th of May and the 1st of June the column made two more important razzias.

All the honour of this spring campaign belongs to Colonel Saint-Arnaud, who acted on his own right bank of the Chélif with four battalions, while the Marshal was manœuvring upon the left bank with eleven battalions. Colonel Saint-Arnaud, having information that a large gathering had been formed,



under the guidance of the Sherif, who prompted the revolt, had gone to the west of Tenès. On the 21st of May, at daybreak, Lieutenant-colonel Bisson, of the 53rd, having moved during the night, carried the very strong position held by the insurgents; 150 Arabs were killed on the spot. The same day Colonel Saint-Arnaud caught them again, and killed 200 men. The Sherif's standard was taken in the action.

Saint-Arnaud's own account of this in his letters is :—

Two brilliant affairs; a razzia upon the Beni-Mezroug in the night of the 20th, when I killed 150 Kabyles, and took 3000 head of cattle. The same day at three in the afternoon I was attacked by more than 1200 Kabyles, led by the three sherifs in person with their four standards. I surrounded the enemy by a turning movement of cavalry, and threw them back upon a ravine where the 53rd was awaiting them. It was a real little battle. We manœuvred as coolly as if we were on the Champ-de-Mars. The enemy left more than 200 corpses. I had only seven wounded. Took a standard and a great many muskets.

The blow was heavy, and Bou-Maza disappeared for the moment. Our columns of Mostaganem, Orléansville, and Tenès, imitating his tactics, ceased to pursue him personally, and turned against the tribes that had supported him. The Sherif fled up the Oued-Riou, closely pressed by our agha, Hadj-Ahmed, who killed all his companions except two horsemen, captured his horses, his standard, two mules laden with powder and silver. Bou-Maza took his revenge upon Hadj-Ahmed in the month of July following, by coming and killing him in the middle of his son's nuptial procession; all the wedding-party were carried off in a razzia.

As to the French, they did not see Mohammed-ben-Abdallah reappear till September in the commencement of the great insurrection. As Colonel

Saint-Arnaud wittily said, 'We have just turned Bou-Maza out of the country . . . till he comes back again.'

In the repression of this first rising of 1845, the French authorities had recourse to a new method very grievous to the Arabs, that of disarmament. Colonel Saint-Arnaud invented it, and was the first to impose this condition, very harsh towards a population essentially warlike. Colonel Saint-Arnaud wrote to his brother from Tenès on the 4th of May, 'I have had two nice fights on the 29th and 30th of April in their (the Ben-Hidja's) frightful mountains; I wasted their country so well that I compelled them to sue for mercy, and, what has never been seen in Africa, to give up their guns. The Marshal himself could not believe in this result. I made the Beni-Hidja give up 500 muskets, 300 sabres, 200 pistols, and 25,000 francs in contributions. The old African officers could hardly believe in the delivery of guns, even when they saw them laid before my tent.' The Marshal and his other lieutenants also ordered this, when they saw the success of the commander of Orléansville. By the month of July the Marshal had seized several thousand weapons, and thus declared the fact in the *Moniteur Algérien* of the 25th of July:

The General has given orders that the gun-barrels received in the disarmament of the Ouarensènis and the Dahra are to be used in the buildings of the arsenal at Algiers and the various military establishments. They are to be as little altered as possible; and with this view are to be used for banisters of staircases, for gratings, balconies, &c. Thus they will serve as an evidence of the disarmament. The military commandants who may be the successors of those now in power will here find a permanent proof of the possibility of this measure, which, in our opinion, ought to be rigorously inflicted upon every tribe that rebels.

We cannot venture to say that the disarmament of the Dahra

and the Ouarensènis is complete. On the contrary, we are convinced that there are weapons remaining among certain tribes, and even the best; but we can assert that at this moment more than 7000 guns fit for use have been collected, and more than 1500 broken that were unserviceable. The operation is still going on among certain tribes.

The three private letters that follow, written by the Marshal during this campaign, refer to the three cares of the moment, the rain, the Sherif, and the disarming.

TO THE MARÉCHALE DUCHESSE D'ISLY.

*Ouarensènis, 9th May, 1845, on the Oued-Lira.*

MY LOVE,—To-day we entered upon the territory of the insurgents. They have not yet fired a shot at us. The chief event hitherto is a great storm we encountered yesterday as we came to our bivouac, that lasted five hours.

We destroy our enemy's harvests as much as we can. Saint-Arnaud writes to me that everything is nearly finished to the east of Tenès, and that he is managing the disarming with a success he dared not hope for. This is a great event. It was not supposed possible to disarm an Arab or Kabyle tribe. Everything seems to show that in a month's time we shall have conquered the revolt everywhere. If we take more time, the reason will be for the purpose of carrying out the disarming. A thousand loves, my dears.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

TO THE SAME.

*At the foot of the peak of the Ouarensènis, to the west,  
among the Beni Ilet, 16 May, 1845.*

MY LOVE,—We have had five days' heavy rain since we left Milianah. This makes me lose a great deal of time, and has greatly wearied both men and beasts. My rear-guard was attacked on the 13th and 14th in the long defile of the Beni-Rahilia and Beni-Idéh; the enemy was vigorously driven back, but in various little engagements we have had six men killed and fifteen wounded.

The bad weather, and my sick and wounded, oblige me to shorten this first campaign. I shall be at Orléansville by the 22nd or 23rd, and I hope to find several letters from you there, and good news of our dear children.

The Beni-Chaïb, the Beni-Jadel, and the very small tribe of

the Taalba, have begged my mercy. I impose the condition of disarming upon them; it has not yet taken place. General Lamoricière writes to me that Abdel-Kader has left Morocco, and gone towards the desert; we shall not be long before we hear of him. Colonel Gély has made a very fortunate expedition in the desert of Tittery; he has gone as far as Brezina, to the northern boundary of the great sandy desert. He had two brilliant combats. The towns and some of the nomad populations submitted. The chief of the Djebel Amour, with whom the Colonel communicated, seems sincere in the promise he made us. Saint-Arnaud thinks he can make short work of the insurgents on the right bank; by his last letter he had six hundred guns given up to him. Show this letter to General de Bar, to whom I address my despatch for the Ministry. He can make a summary of it all for the *Moniteur Algérien*, after the departure of the mail that carries my despatch. Adieu, my dear souls; I send you a thousand kisses, that you may pass on to Marie, Charles, Madame Saint-Germain, and Antoine.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

P.S.—I have kept a dozen cows from a razzia for your orphans; if I cannot send them to you, I will have them sold.

TO THE SAME.

*Ouarensènis Bivouac, 15 June, 1845.*

MY LOVE,—Two days hence I go to Orléansville, leaving things here in good train. Bourjolly and de Neveu are ordered to finish the disarming already begun.

I learn that everything is not finished in the Dahra. Colonel Saint-Arnaud has again fought with the Sherif, who had managed to unite the contingents of all the tribes of the portion west of the Dahra, belonging to the Mostaganem subdivision. He has again been routed, and some hundred of his men killed. I hope this will not prevent my coming to embrace you. Pelissier will replace me momentarily at least.

I embrace you tenderly.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

The Marshal returned to Algiers on the 12th of June; he had brought the Duke de Montpensier back with him, who was going to undertake a long journey in the East, after undergoing all the fatigues of this hard and barren campaign.

Seven days after the Marshal's return to Algiers,

the very column he had left under the command of Colonel Pelissier had to subdue the tribe of the Ouled-Rhia, a large portion of whom had taken refuge in the caves of Dahra. The more than energetic method used by the future conqueror of the Malakoff to exterminate his enemies, has given rise to disputes that are not even yet concluded.

The task the Marshal had left to his lieutenants was the punishment of the tribes that had received and assisted Bou-Maza ; he had also ordered them to proceed with the disarming.

Three columns, under the orders of Colonels Ladmirault, Saint-Arnaud, and Pelissier, were to manœuvre first in the Dahra, and afterwards in the Ouarensenis, where the Marshal's departure had left the work unfinished.

On the 19th of June Colonel Pelissier, after an important razzia, summoned the insurgent tribe of the Ouled-Rhia to ask for mercy ; a part of the tribe submitted. The rest absolutely refused to recognise our authority ; they had to be attacked. The warriors, retreating before our column, retired into their celebrated caves, having sent on thither their women, children, and cattle. The Colonel invested them. This operation cost him some men of the goums, and several soldiers. When the investment was complete, he endeavoured to negotiate. It was in vain that he promised the Arabs that their persons and property should be respected, and nothing further required of them than giving up their arms. They fired on our flag of truce, and one of the bearers was killed. Colonel Pelissier employed every conceivable pacific method for five hours with these unfortunate people ; he warned

them three times, through subject natives, of the danger they were exposing themselves and their families to. At last he told them that he must 'warm'\* them, that the fuel was ready, and that he must make an end. After many delays night came. Faggots were thrown to the mouth of the cave from the rocks above; some time afterwards fire was thrown over in the same way. At one in the morning Colonel Pelissier, whose chief wish was to frighten them, ordered the fire to be extinguished. It was too late, the catastrophe was complete, and more than 500 human beings had perished by suffocation.

The excitement in France and Algeria produced by this fatal event was immense. Perhaps the Marshal-governor was the person most grieved; and it is but justice to him to say that he did not hesitate a moment in upholding his lieutenant, and taking the whole responsibility upon his own person. This he did with great animation; in the columns of the *Moniteur Algérien* of the 15th and 20th of July, Colonel Pelissier's cause is thus argued:

The end of June was very near. It was necessary for the subjugation of the Dahra to be completed by that time. The season was advanced; the heat most severe; Colonels Saint-Arnaud and Pelissier had orders to make a simultaneous attack upon the Ouarensenis. Their movements were to be combined. Saint-Arnaud was to attack by the east, and Pelissier by the west. If the Colonel had gone away, the Arabs would have issued from their caves, and saluted his rear-guard with a sharp fire. The Colonel could not leave the caves, nor lose time in blockading them, for there is a copious stream through the caverns, and they were well supplied with food. Our troops were on the point of failure, and the next day had to be in another direction. To enter the caves and fight the Ouled-Rhia was to destroy them no less

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\* 'Chauffer,' expression used in the *Moniteur Algérien*, 15th July, 1845.

unmercifully, and risk the loss of a great many men. The Colonel thought that the burning faggots would drive them out to be caught. He spent five hours in unsuccessful negotiations; they killed the bearer of a flag of truce and several men. He kept up the fire, and the Ouled-Rhia perished by their fatal obstinacy.

\* \* \* \* \*

The attack upon such caves is no new thing. Last year General Cavaignac besieged a cave similarly. He lost Captain Louvencourt of the 5th Chasseurs battalion there, and several men. The General placed petards on the rocks, and threw shells inside, we even think he made use of fire. The cave was small, and its defenders few in number; that was the only reason why there were so few victims.

Was Colonel Pelissier to retire before this obstinacy, and give up his task? The consequences of this determination would have been fatal, and caused a great increase of confidence in the caves. Was he to attack by main force? That was almost impossible, and in any case would have caused great loss. To resign himself to a simple blockade that might last a fortnight, was the loss of precious time for subduing the Dahra, and refusal of the combination with Colonel Saint-Arnaud. After consideration of all these circumstances, he determined to make use of the method that had been recommended him by the Governor-general, in case of extreme urgency.

We would ask whether besieging caverns is more cruel than the bombardment and starvation that we inflict upon the whole population of European cities in war. May there be created in Africa concentrated interests, immovable, such as there are to be found in all the large towns of Europe, and there will be a chance for us to prove that we would not weaken ourselves by running after cattle and people over ravines, mountains, plains, and the desert. . . . But, as in all war, in order to bring it to a conclusion, the interests must be touched, &c., &c.

These last words, 'the interests must be touched,' language so often repeated in the speeches and writings of Marshal Bugeaud about the wars in Africa, are equivalent to a signature. It is really the Marshal in person, defending his lieutenant in the official newspaper of the colony. He acted thus with his habitual generosity; and was in perfect accord with the feeling of the army, as is plain from

the letters written by Colonel Saint-Arnaud at the time of the occurrence.

Not only did the army approve of Colonel Pelissier's conduct, but it must be said the whole colony had but one voice in favour of this energetic soldier, who had sacrificed a few victims to the general interest, in order to crush insurrection, strike terror into the Arabs, and prevent bloodshed.

Colonel Pelissier's report to the Governor-general concluded with these words:—‘These, Marshal, are some of the operations that are undertaken, when they are forced upon us, but we pray to God that we may never have to repeat them.’

Answering a question put by the Prince de la Moskowa in the Chamber of Peers, Marshal Soult, the War Minister, ‘on this occasion,’ says M. Guizot, ‘was deficient in his usual presence of mind and determination. He said some confused sentences coldly and timidly, blaming Colonel Pelissier, but not satisfying those who attacked him.’

Marshal Bugeaud keenly resented this desertion, and did not choose to imitate it. A Republican, M. Leon Plée, says, ‘With unheard-of heroism the Governor-general took upon himself the responsibility for the order, in face of excited public opinion.’ This is his letter to the War-Minister:—

MARSHAL BUGEAUD TO MARSHAL SOULT.

*Algiers, 18 July, 1845.*

I regret, sir, that you thought it your duty to blame Colonel Pelissier's proceeding without any qualification. I assume the responsibility for his act; if the government consider that there is punishment to be awarded, it is upon me that it must fall. Before we parted at Orléansville, I had given Colonel Pelissier orders to make use of this method at the last extremity. In fact, he did not resort to it until he had exhausted all the resources of



conciliation. I have a good right to call the questions in the sitting of the 11th deplorable, although their principle is praiseworthy. They will produce a painful effect upon the army, that can only be increased by the furious declamations of the press.

The population must accept our law before they can be governed, civilised, or made colonial. Thousands of examples show that they only accept it when compelled, and compulsion itself is powerless, when it has not reached their persons and interests. By strict philanthropy the war in Africa would be prolonged for ever, as well as the spirit of rebellion, and so the aim of philanthropy would not be attained.

Receive, &c.,

BUGAUD.

Sixteen years afterwards, in 1861, Colonel Pelissier, become Marshal of France, Duke de Malakoff, Governor-general of Algeria, was entertained by the colonists at Mascara. The notables did the honours of a club that bore his name, in memory of the struggles of other days. There, in the neighbourhood of the Dahra, in the midst of this crowd of Algerians, he remembered the abuse showered upon him by the French press, and the politicians of the time. It is well known no one could speak with more originality or fire than this soldier with his rough rind. Under the excitement of the occasion, he recalled this terrible deed of war with the eloquence arising from the conviction of having done his duty, painful though it were. And on that day he received fresh proof of the warm gratitude of the colonists.

This unhappy event had retarded the expedition to Kabylia by a full month. Yet the Marshal tried to carry it out before he carried into effect a proposed voyage to France, although the season was far advanced.

The Marshal's wife and her attendants started for Marseilles on the 20th of July. On the 23rd the

Governor-general embarked for Dellys, to take the command of a column of 5000 men, intended to act against Ben-Salem, who had the assistance of two other great insurgent chiefs, named Bel-Kassem and Bou-Chareb. All three had distributed a quantity of false letters, with the Emir Abdel-Kader's seal, saying that the Emperor of Morocco had beaten us, that the Emir was coming, and the Marshal was dead. In all the zaouïas the Marabouts were prophesying the end of the Christian rule.

With their fanaticism excited by these appeals, the Beni-Ouaguenoun, the Flissat-el-Bahar, and the Beni-Gennad, fell upon the Amraouas, who remained faithful to our alliance, and burnt their villages and crops. The Governor-general's presence became necessary. He rapidly proceeded to Ain el Arba, where his column had been collected. On the 25th of July he came to the foot of the mountains, occupied by the Ouled-Mioun, the most ardent in sedition. Next day the French column crowned the heights, reputed inaccessible in the time of the Turks, and burned all the villages there. Our soldiers encamped there two nights, and came down again, without having fired or received a single musket-shot. Then crossing the Oued-Sebaou, the army came to the Beni-Raten, who promised they would not receive Bel-Kassem any more. Though the heat was stifling, the Marshal continued his campaign in the direction of the lands belonging to the Beni-Gennad, who submitted and paid the war contribution.

Fort National, alias Fort Napoleon, is now standing in the territory of the Beni-Raten. The Kabyle tribes dwelling in this mass of mountains used to boast that they had never been subject

to rule. Indeed, Tizi-Ouzou, the Tubusumptus of Ammianus Marcellinus, was the most advanced point of Roman rule in the Djurjura, and the Turks themselves had never passed this limit.

Marshal Bugeaud in 1845 met with voluntary submission from the Beni-Raten; it was not till 1848 and later that the Kabyle tribes became a permanent focus of insurrection. In 1857 Marshal Randon undertook the conquest of this part of Kabylia. His force was more than 35,000 men, and his generals of division, Renault, Yusuf, and MacMahon; after sixty days' fighting, all Kabylia laid down its arms, and the fort was built, and a good road made to secure the conquest.

Marshal Bugeaud had issued a long proclamation to the Kabyles, stating his objects; next day almost all the chiefs came to submit. Some desired explanations; the Marshal answered the Beni-Raten:—

You avoid speaking of Ben-Salem and Bel-Kassem, that will do you harm. You tell me that in the time of the Turks there were already disputes with your neighbours in the plains, that the stronger did as he chose, and that the Turks shut their eyes. The Turks were not strong enough to impose their will upon everybody, especially the Kabyles. But we have the requisite power, not only to conquer more country, but to secure respect for our subject tribes. I shall consider any damage done to the obedient tribes as a hostile attack against myself. I have no need to send Marabouts to reconcile you, as you advise. That is not my business; do it yourselves if you choose, for it is much better to live on good terms with neighbours. As for me, I trust in my power and justice.

After receiving submission and payment of contributions, the column returned to Dellys by Ain-el-Arba. The Marshal returned to Algiers on the 7th of August, after an absence of a fortnight only. As for the hill-tribes of the east, neighbours of the independent Kabyles, there was no question of dis-

arming. The Marshal decided on summoning the chiefs who had made submission to attend at Algiers for investiture. The ceremony was very imposing, and the Marshal spoke as follows :—

We are not afraid to make our way over the steepest mountains. You do not know how terrible are the punishments we inflict upon the guilty ; but you also see that our heart is merciful. Go back to your brethren ; join your efforts against the common enemy. You are strong enough to drive him out of the country, if he tried to return to it. Know also that, if necessary, my soldiers would not fail you.

In the private letter following, the Marshal expresses a hope that the campaign in Kabylia has secured rest for some time on the side of Dellys :—

TO THE MARECHALE DUCHESSE D'ISLY.

*Algiers, the 8th of August, 1845.*

MY LOVE,—I was very sorry not to hear of your arrival at Luchon, or your journey to Toulouse. At last yesterday came your letter of the 30th of July, to comfort me. A letter from Comman, of one or two days' later date than yours, tells me that Léonie is dull ; this makes me dull, too. You have good reason to say that this good general is devoted to us. Take especial care of the excellent man. The heat had tired me a little. I am well to-day, and am preparing to start on the 1st or 5th, and fly to you. Reckon upon my moving the 5th. I shall spend three days at Saint-Amand, according to Marshal Soult's civil invitation. You and your daughter are both invited. The correspondence has become very gracious, and business easy. Take good care when you talk not to express any discontent. It would be improved upon.

I think I have settled our affairs on the side of Dellys, so as to have quiet there for some time. Everything is going on well elsewhere, except in the Orléansville subdivision, where the Sherif has appeared.

Abdel-Kader has from 30,000 to 40,000 refugees round him. It is plain he is preparing to come back, and the Moors let him do it. There is permanent danger in that quarter. Madame Saint-Germaine has given me the best news of Charles. He is grown, he is steady, he will get some prizes. How glad I shall be to see the dear boy, and walk with him at La Durantie.

Does Léonie want her little horse ? I am afraid it will make up a number of animals, and that she will not make use of it; we will do as she likes. I should be very glad to find my carriage at Mèze, but how could you get it in time ?

Another important matter was just now concluded ; it was the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty with Morocco. General de la Rue, the French plenipotentiary, had remained on the frontier during the winter of 1844-45, conferring with the Moorish plenipotentiary. The treaty was signed in the month of March, and published in the month of August.

A number of mistakes have been current in respect of the definition of the Moorish frontier ; and even now some ignorant or prejudiced persons criticise this limitation. The truth is, that General de Lamoricière, relying upon documents preserved in the archives of the Turks, and analysed by the most competent Arabs, forwarded all the information upon which the negotiators of this settlement rested, to General de la Rue, who had charge of the boundary question, with the assistance of Commandant Martimprey and of M. Léon Roches.

The best proof of this settlement being to the advantage of France is that Muley Abder-Rhaman dismissed the Moorish chief employed in this negotiation, and that great efforts were necessary to obtain the ratification of the boundary treaty. They said the Malouia ought to have been taken for the frontier, this was the negotiator's opinion ; but the treaty of Tangier forbids this limit, because it was stipulated that the boundaries existing between the Turks and Moors at the moment of the conquest should be preserved.

It is puerile to pretend that any determination of frontier can be made in a Mahometan country in such a way as to prevent difficulties. These difficulties do not arise from the boundary being settled in such or such a spot, but are inherent in the character of the tribes ; and also it is to be said, that the more vague this limitation is, the more advantageous is it for the strongest and best prepared people.

In the text of the treaty is to be found, 'In the Sahara there is no boundary that can be established, as the land is not cultivated.' And further on, 'As to the country to the south of the Ksours, as it is uninhabitable, and is the real desert, limitation would be superfluous.'

The vagueness of such a statement is perfectly appropriate to the nature of the country and the Mahometan mind. An exact declaration might in some circumstances become very annoying. The Governments of 1830 and 1881 adopted this view, when they persevered in their refusal to define the frontier of Tunis. It is certain that the French Government found themselves hampered on the occasion of the late insurrection of the Bou-Amema in 1881 by the fact that this very treaty of 1845 formally mentions the oasis of Figuig as Moorish.

Marshal Bugeaud wrote again to his wife just before sailing, informing her that he was now going to pay the long-promised visit to Soultberg :—

TO THE DUCHESSE D'ISLY AT BAGNÈRES-DE-LUCHON.

*Algiers, 25 August, 1845.*

Four lines, my love, to tell you that, when I arrived from Orléansville, I found your letter, and Léonie's, and one from Comman.

I am very glad to hear that our dear child is better. I quite

approve your staying till the 15th or 20th of September. Then I will come and join you at Luchon or Toulouse, whichever you like, after I have seen Marshal Soult; when I am there you can let me know where I am to meet you. I should prefer it to be at Toulouse, from the 15th to the 20th of September. As you are sending me your carriage to Mèze no doubt you have asked for your son-in-law's. I am bringing Léonie's horse.

I am very well. Adieu, my loves; remembrances to good Comman; bring him to La Durantie.

(Signed) MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

The Marshal left Algiers for France on the 4th of September. He went to Soultberg, to confer with the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia, President of Council, upon Algerian matters, and especially upon the question of military colonisation. He went to France, intending to give free, *vivâ voce* expression to all his ideas.

He told his former aide-de-camp, Saint-Arnaud, 'If they do not understand me, and do not choose to understand me, I will not return. If everything is arranged, according to my belief, I shall be back in Algiers by the beginning of November.'

Everything was not arranged with the King's Government, according to the Marshal's wishes; and yet duty took him back to Algeria before the time he had named. He was also uneasy about the Arab's last 'raising of shields.' Under the very transparent signature of an 'Old Traveller,' he had summed up the first rising of 1845 in the columns of the *Moniteur Algérien*, his usual place of declamation, and shown as follows his expectation that the peace of the country would not be of long duration:—

The Arabs were tired of war, when they submitted to our power in 1842 and 1843. Their bravest warriors had died in battle; they had lost a number of horses under fire and by exhaustion; the *razzias*, famine, and the continual migrations had destroyed their

herds ; their silos had been emptied, not only by enemies, but also by allies ; their crops were burnt, it had become impossible to attempt cultivation.

In this lamentable condition, the chiefs said to themselves, Let us surrender to the French ; they will let us govern ourselves as we please, they will be contented with our trade, and when we have made up our losses, we will choose a convenient time to drive away the stranger.

But immediately after this submission, we organized the government of the country. Roads were made, and villages built ; lands were granted to Europeans that had been the property of tribes and of private persons ; and the property of the Beyliks was looked after.

The Arabs understood that submission could no longer be factitious, superficial, and provisional, as they had intended ; they saw clearly that we not only desired to dwell in the land, but to possess it. They remembered Abdel-Kader's attempts.

The Emir, well informed, cleverly took advantage of this. He flooded the country with his letters, and announced his coming everywhere. The most fanatical raised the standard of revolt ; the attack upon the camp of Sidi-bel-Abbès was only the prelude. This was the origin of the insurrections that have broken out, and is only an effort of the Arab nationality to escape from a yoke more and more intolerable to them. Will this effort be the last ? We do not think so.

The chief civilians of Algiers met at the palace to present an address to the Governor on his departure ; in the course of his reply, he said, that the great object of his desire was peace and colonisation. ‘ You are vexed, gentlemen, at some unjust attacks that have been made upon me by several organs of the press, and you feared I should be discouraged by them. Be sure that, as far as concerns me personally, I despise the ill-founded attacks, while I am quite inclined to profit by the useful advice that the press gives us, alas, too seldom !

‘ One thing alone grieves me in these blind and violent declamations ; that they seem as if they might hinder the development of our colony, as their pictures of Algeria might frighten men who were



inclined to throw in their lot with you . . . . . You seem to think that my presence here is still necessary, and that it would be too difficult to find a substitute. These words, gentlemen, however flattering they may be for me, will not prevent my telling you, and being glad to tell you, that this is a mistake. No! Thanks be to God! it is not true that your fate depends on one man, whoever he may be . . . . . A great nation like ours will always find men to meet the needs that arise.'

General Bedeau was now governor of the province of Constantine, but had been obliged to go to France on sick leave. He was Marshal Bugeaud's most trusted lieutenant, and, failing him, General Lamoricière was now made temporary governor.

## CHAPTER X.

### SIDI-BRAHIM. THE FIVE MONTHS' CAMPAIGN (1845).

Causes of Disagreement between the Government and the Marshal—Letters to M. Guizot—Commencement of the great Insurrection of 1845—Lamoricière's Doubt—The Marshal's speedy Return to Algeria—Disasters of Sidi-Brahim—And Ain-Temouchent—Bedeau recalled—Preachers of the Holy War—Abdel-Kader in the Djurjura—The Marshal's Return after an Absence of Five Months—Trochu's Opinion of the Campaign—The Marshal's General Orders.

THE causes of disagreement between the Government and Marshal Bugeaud were of several kinds. As we have said, the Governor-general's especial desire, next after conquest, was colonisation. He was ardently desirous of establishing military settlements, as much to make the colony secure, and the budget economical, as to provide for the national army being available in case of European complications. The current of opinion in the press and in the Chambers was, on the contrary, opposed to any tendency that they believed to be inspired by what they called 'militarianism.' Now the government of July, unfortunately, more than any other thought themselves obliged to reckon with opinion, and all its caprices, and unjust prejudices.

The Marshal was vexed to see the money they grudged him for military colonisation, absorbed by the creation of a civil service in Algeria, that attained to exaggerated proportions. These measures were decreed without his knowledge, even without his being consulted; there was legislation without even asking his advice. In the month of April, 1843, two royal ordinances upon the civil and administrative govern-

ment of Algeria, documents of monstrous length, granted upon the proposals of the War Minister, without any participation of the Governor-general, had filled up no less than nineteen columns of the *Moniteur Algérien*.

We know that Marshal Bugeaud was always especially sensitive to the attacks of the press,\* and of the journal named *l'Algérie*, which, rightly or wrongly, was supposed to draw its information from the very War Minister's office, wounded him especially,

\* At this time there was a recurrence of the attacks upon the victor of Isly, both in Paris and Algiers. No doubt the Governor-general would have been wiser to despise these odious insinuations and calumnies. Unfortunately, it was quite out of his power to remain silent and motionless before abuse. He chose to reply to every attack. And so, in every page of the *Moniteur Algérien* we see denials and corrections emanating from the Governor-general himself. As one of his friends said, 'This man who has such a violent horror of the journalists and the press, has quite the disposition of a journalist.'

He himself understood that he would have been wiser to despise these mean polemics; against himself he would go back to his favourite theme. An admission that fell from him, on a certain occasion, is especially characteristic. M. Lapasset writes :

'If the effect of the victory of Isly was great in France, it was immense in Algeria and the neighbouring countries. I can still fancy myself a spectator of the grand review in the plain of Mustapha, that was held a few days after the Marshal's return to Algiers; the army, the militia, the Arab goums, the population covering the immense field of manoeuvres, and saluting the conqueror with shouts. I fancy I can still see him, after this grand day, returning to Algiers, at the head of his troops, surrounded by crowds of people, by the side of the carriage that held his family, holding the hand of his daughter, Mademoiselle Léonie d'Isly, now the wife of General Feray, smiling to his wife, as if he wished to transfer all his fame to them, and illuminate them with the glory that covered his noble head. People would suppose he was very happy. Listen, before deciding. The same evening at a dinner with only some private friends, the conversation turned upon the happiness to be enjoyed upon this earth; the Marshal was thoughtful. All at once he broke in, "You all, my friends, think me very happy. And so I ought to be; from a private seldier I have reached the highest rank. I am a duke, I command the finest army, my soldiers love me and I love them. I have three beautiful children and am proud of them; a wife still beautiful, whom I love and who is affectionate to me. So I ought to be completely happy, and yet I am not. These cursed newspapers poison my life; they abuse me, distort my actions, change good into evil, accuse me of things I never did, and intentions I never had. I know very well I shall be told that I am very wrong to vex myself about such gabbling, but you cannot stop a lion from roaring when he is stung by a gnat. People will not begin to know me till I am no more, when passions are dead. Then alone will they do me justice. Well, it is this delay of justice that makes me impatient, and prevents my perfectly enjoying the benefits Providence has strewn around me; so true it is that the man who seems most happy always bears a gnawing worm in his heart."

and irritated him beyond measure. It was even allowed to be supposed that some of this information came from General Lamoricière, who soon afterwards was elected an opposition deputy, and presented the spectacle of a soldier sometimes combating on the tribune the proposals of his professional superior, and at others voting against the minister who gave him his command.

Such an abnormal position, created by the parliamentary system, and falsified in its application, was excessively disliked by the Marshal, whose absolute loyalty did not permit of such temporising in the performance of his military duties.

Colonel de Saint-Arnaud wrote to his brother upon this delicate subject :—

There are not two camps in the African army, but there are two men ; one great, full of genius, who by his frankness and his roughness sometimes makes enemies, he who is an enemy of no one ; the other capable, clever, ambitious, who believes in the power of the press and courts it, who thinks that the civil power will get the better of the military in Africa, and takes the side of the civil power. The army is not divided between Marshal Bugeaud and General Lamoricière, only there are a certain number of officers who expect more from the young general who has a future, than from the famous old man, whose career cannot be very long.

The Marshal was much pained at the want of confidence shown him by the War Minister, and the little influence allowed him in Algerian matters. Two months before he went to France, Bugeaud wrote as follows to M. Guizot :—

*Algiers, 30th June, 1845.*

I am convinced that Marshal Soult intends to disgust me with my position, so that I may throw it up. This opinion arises from a number of little things that, taken together, show that he has no respect for my views or proposals. You saw the case he made of the undertaking, entered into before the council, to ask for 500,000

francs for a trial of military colonisation ; it is the same in everything, or nearly so. It is enough for me to propose a thing, for them to do the contrary, and the smallest man in his office has more influence than I have upon the government and colonisation of Algeria. At all times the successes of generals have increased their credit ; mine has declined in proportion to the progress of affairs in Algeria. I cannot be the workman to destroy what I may call my work without vanity. I cannot assist at the melancholy spectacle of the march that is proceeding in quick time.

Unseasonable, ridiculous, senseless extension of all civil matters ; rivalry of the army and the public works to cover the foolish expenses of an establishment that would answer for a population ten times as numerous : this is the system. I am tired of struggling unsuccessfully against so many false notions, against officers inspired by the newspaper *l'Algérie*. I want to resume my independence, to explain my own notions to the government and the country. Patriotism orders me to do it, because I am convinced that they are misconducting the greatest business in France.

Soon after his arrival at La Durantie, the Marshal again engaged his distinguished correspondent on the same subject ; and accepted his reproaches on a recent circular about his favourite theme, colonisation.

Bugeaud had written this circular with the conviction that the War Minister would authorise him to apply a credit of 500,000 francs to a trial of military colonisation. He had spoken positively, declaring what the Governor-general would do in favour of the new colonists, as if he was going to be able to perform his promises. The credit was refused, the circular found fault with, and this is what he explains in the following letter to M. Guizot :—

*La Durantie, 28th September, 1845.*

Your letter of the 23rd August, came to meet me here just as I was on my way to visit my fields. I gave them a rapid glance, and have risen before day to answer you, so as not to rob them. Just as I was leaving Algiers I left an article for insertion in the *Moniteur* of the 5th of September, that answers to your wish for me to diminish what you call the bad effect of my circular, by some

action. It ought not to have been published . . . . . I must also say that the language was too positive ; I ought to have put conditional verbs everywhere ; instead of saying the colonists will receive, &c., I ought to have said, if the government adopt my views the colonists will receive, &c. Change the tense of the verbs, and you will only find a very simple thing, a statistical investigation, which is within the rights and practices of command, and intended to enlighten the government itself . . . . . And what shows that I had no time to lose for obtaining a result before my departure, is that up to this time I have only been able to obtain the states of the Algiers division ; they give me 3996 non-commissioned officers and privates, having among them a property of 1,700,000 francs. It may be supposed that the two other divisions would each give about 3000 requisitions. So there are near 10,000 soldiers of twenty-four to thirty years, that is to say, all young, strong, disciplined, used to war, acclimatized, ready to devote themselves to Africa, they and their offspring . . . . . If France was ill-advised enough not to take advantage of this disposition, so as to consolidate her conquest speedily and for ever, her blindness cannot be too much deplored . . . . . To answer the foolish and malicious accusations of the press, calling me a rebel pacha, I came alone to offer myself to the bowstring, and presented myself first to the War-Minister. If I had any apprehension, his delightful reception would have effaced it. In conversation he showed me clearly, that the declamations of the press had somewhat influenced his mind ; but as soon as I explained my motives to him, all based upon my profound conviction that it is doing a great service to France, and that the action itself lay within the rights and practices of command, the cloud broke,\* and all the two days we discussed African affairs, I found nothing in him but great kindness for me, and very good intentions as to business in general. For my own part, I behaved with a gentleness and deference, you would not have thought me capable of, and it was too successful for me not to make use of the same means another time.

BUGEAUD.

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\* As to this visit to Soultberg, the Marshal alludes to before he went home, we have received a valuable account from one of our friends, Philippe de Mornay, grandson of the Duke of Dalmatia, which destroys a fable attributing a reciprocal hostility to the two great soldiers. Philippe de Mornay, then only just fifteen, was at Soultberg during Marshal Bugeaud's visit. He lately told me that he quite remembered his grandfather's excitement before Marshal Bugeaud came, and his emotion when the carriage was visible in the avenue. He ran down the outer hall-door steps, and enfolded in a long embrace his comrade, his guest, the old corporal of Austerlitz. This is a proof that no conflict would have arisen between the two Marshals of France, but for the interposition of plots and detestable influences by the office-clerks and politicians.

The Marshal was not able to enjoy his repose at La Durantie very long ; it was disturbed by discussions on Algerian policy, and abruptly interrupted by news from Algiers.

After the Governor-general's departure, the tribes of the province of Oran, the Dahra, and the Ouaren-senis, had caught fire like a train of powder. The temporary Governor, Lamoricière, in his excitement, had rather imprudently published this annoying intelligence with full details before he went to the focus of the conflagration. It is true that he had immediately despatched Commandant Rivet to the Marshal in France, feeling himself not strong enough to master it. The announcement of such serious events naturally made the Duke d'Isly forget his vexation and his inclination to resign the government of Africa.

The very evening of the day that Commandant Rivet reached La Durantie, the Marshal wrote the following letter :—

TO M. DE MARCILLAC, PREFECT OF THE DORDOGNE.

*La Durantie, 6th October, 1845.*

M. Rivet has brought me most melancholy information from Algeria. The army and the people are crying out for my return. I had too much reason to complain of the Government desertion of me, in face of my enemies of the press and others, not to be quite determined against going back to Algeria without the commission I have asked for, and a promise to act upon some of my fundamental notions. But events are too serious for me to bargain about my return at a moment of danger ; so I have determined to set off the day after to-morrow. I should be glad if you will send me four post-horses to take me to Périgueux. . . . It is much to be feared that this may be a difficult war beginning. Alas ! events do but too much justify my opposition to the system of unnecessarily extending the civil administration, and reducing the army to pay for it. My heart is wrung with pain at sight of so many misfortunes, and so

much blindness of our rulers and the press that governs us more than we dare to own.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

The prefect was foolish enough to communicate this letter to the local press, though it was never intended for publication, and was likely still further to embitter the already strained relationship between the Marshal and the Ministry.

The confidential letter now given from Commandant Rivet, an orderly officer of Marshal Bugeaud's, to his friend, M. Léon Roches, immediately after his return to Algiers shows exactly what the Marshal thought at this crisis :—

*Algiers, 16th October, 1845.*

MY DEAR ROCHES,—Fourichon has written to you at length and informed you of the condition of the Oran frontier; so I will not go back to those deplorable events.

When news came of the catastrophe of Ghazaouat, I left Algiers on the 30th of September to inform the Marshal. I reached Excideuil on the night of the 6th of October, and thirty-six hours afterwards we were on the road to Marseilles with our excellent patron, whose self-denial and determination are admirable. What patriotism and fervour there is in that grand soul.

We got to Marseilles on the 11th, could not sail for Algiers till the 13th, and got there at four in the afternoon on the 15th. The Marshal's reception by the army and the people ought to have consoled him for the animosity of the press, that has been let loose upon him for several months. If you had seen all the faces radiant with delight, as we passed through the waves of the population of Algiers, you must have wept with delight.

To-morrow, the 17th, we leave Algiers to hurry to the blaze that has caught almost all the province of Oran, and has most happily so far respected the province of Algiers.

On our way we go down all the valley of the Chélif, so as to influence all the world on our way. Then we shall pick up Saint-Arnaud and General de Bourjolly, that we may crush the Flitas and the Beni-Ouragh, and from there we shall go westwards to do what is wanted in concert with General Lamoricière.

No doubt you know the energetic measure the Government has taken. Six infantry and two cavalry regiments are to be sent to



Algeria before the end of the month as a reinforcement. This is enough to say that they do not only want the restoration of order in Algeria, but the extirpation of the cause of mischief down to the root. No doubt there is a determination to pursue Abdel-Kader wherever he may be, without respecting the frontier.

The winter will be employed in restoring our position in Algeria, and making it as good, or perhaps better than it was before, and when the fine season comes we shall be able to operate upon the Beni-Snassen, and pass the Malouia if necessary.

All our diplomacy, my dear Roches, in my opinion, should now be directed to persuading the Emperor that it is to his interest to co-operate with us for the expulsion, and what would be still better the destruction, of Abdel-Kader. It is quite certain that we shall act with or without the Emperor of Morocco. It is impossible to do otherwise, and it needs no commentary. The despatch of a Moorish ambassador to Paris will assist our negotiators very much, and I congratulate you very sincerely upon this success in diplomacy.

The Marshal wanted to write you some words with his own hand, knowing you would like it very much ; but how can he find a moment, taken up as he is with preparations for departure to-morrow and the thousand Government matters ? He desires me to do it for him, and I do it in haste, but very gladly.

General Lamoricière left Oran on the 2nd, effected his juncture with General Cavaignac on the 9th at Bab-Theiza ; on the 10th they were at Djemâa Ghazaouat. No engagement had yet taken place. Abdel-Kader is with the Traras, behind them, and preparations are being made to attack him there.

Another misfortune, only reported yesterday. The commandant of Seb dou, M. Billaut, and the Arab agent, M. Dombasles, were decoyed out among the Ouriache by the chiefs of the tribe on pretext of arranging about the dangers of the moment. They went with only five hussars, and were the victims of their own rashness. Their heads were all cut off. Alas ! what reprisals must be made. Was it fated for our excellent Marshal's most wise principles to be established by such terrible proof ?

Adieu, your very devoted and very loving

RIVET.

We have brought back Vergé from France with Madame Vergé. Why do not you speedily come back with a beloved companion ?

Postscript in the Marshal's writing :—

Be especially careful, my dear Roches, not to say a word about

the intervention, or invasion, that perhaps we shall be able to make upon the Moorish territory with the Emperor's consent. A thousand loves.

MARSHAL B.

Bugeaud's precipitate journey from La Durantie landed him on the 15th of October with as great speed as the locomotion of the time could compass. As soon as the three cannon-shots proclaimed that the frigate *Panama* was in sight with the Governor-general on board, the whole population was on foot. The militia got under arms, and the troops were arranged along the road to the Marina.

At four o'clock the Marshal landed at the Admiralty stairs, amid an immense crowd. He bowed to the assembly, and said, 'Gentlemen, I wish I was coming under more favourable circumstances; but I feel a no less vivid sensation of pleasure at finding myself among you. Though the circumstances are serious, there is no cause for despair; with the help of God we will put things on a good footing again. You know that the King's Government has placed the means required for effecting this at my disposal.'

The Governor-general commenced his march. The road to the Marina was covered with people its whole length; the Place Royale and the Government Square were crowded, the terraces and balconies of the houses were full of spectators. All Algiers had gone to see the Marshal pass. So much sympathy had never been displayed, or public feeling more excited.

The day after his landing the Marshal had the following proclamation posted:—

*Algiers, 16th October, 1845.*

COLONISTS OF ALGERIA,—You may have been surprised by the

events that have taken place since the end of September, but they certainly have not alarmed you for your future. As I told you, on taking leave lately, France has taken her African establishment too seriously to heart for her to allow it to be in jeopardy. You see our Government has come to a determination worthy of it and of France; at the first moment of danger the King and his council decided upon sending large reinforcements to Algeria.

As we managed with much inferior force to subdue the country and drive its implacable chief into Morocco, now, with the powerful reinforcements so freely sent us, we shall be very well able to bring matters back to the point where they were, and even improve upon them.

Thus it is in the nature of our undertaking to increase with the obstacles put in its way. I never have concealed from you that revolts and attacks from without may be repeated from time to time. It is not in the nature of a warlike people, fanatic, and constituted like the Arabs to resign themselves to Christian rule in a short time. The natives will often endeavour to shake off the yoke, as they have done under all the conquerors that have gone before. But your Governor is well informed; he keeps a careful watch over your destinies, and your foes will end by becoming weary of their impotent efforts against your numbers that must be speedily increased by all possible means.

Continue, therefore, in quiet your labours and speculations of all kinds; and let no cares abate your activity. In the struggle that will take place, far from you as I hope, I shall claim your aid as little as possible; but should it become necessary, I trust in your patriotism and will call upon it.

The Governor-general of Algeria,  
MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

The Marshal had made use of the time spent on the voyage—a very rough one this time—in preparing instructions for his lieutenants according to the circumstances. Surprises like those of Sidi-bel-Abbès, in the spring, and rashness like that of Djemâa Ghazaouat and Sebdou, were a lesson.\* There had been relaxa-

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\* In the course of the campaign the Marshal again had occasion to expose the same disobedience.

*Ben Atia, on the Menasfa, 29th November, 1845.*

Posts have been established without my consent, and even without my having the least information about them.

tion of vigilance in the regularly established posts ; others had been created without permission, thus returning to the bad and dangerous system of the Mitidjah blockhouses, so very much found fault with by Deputy-general Bugeaud on the tribune.

A circular was sent to the generals commanding the provinces, of which these are the most important passages :—

*At sea, on board the Panama, 14th October, 1845.*

You know how often I have objected to the multiplication of permanent posts, to which there is a general tendency. . . . Permanent posts that can only be weak, by reason of their numbers, do not secure communications, and have no effect upon the country. The real action, the true power, lies in the troops who keep the open. . . . Posts that are not of an absolute and clearly proved necessity ought to be carefully avoided, for they are a source of embarrassment, weakness, and danger.

The magazine posts or victualling places that are an indispensable assistance to the mobility of the columns, and have only a weak garrison, properly speaking have only to protect themselves ; they cannot pretend to rule over the country round, as they are quite incapable of it. As long as the country is at peace and obedient, no doubt the commander of any of the posts must keep an eye upon the action of the native chiefs, obtain reports from them, cause them to come and pay visits to him, &c. But the commander must never go out with any of his force, either to repress disorder or on pretext of protecting the country. At the very utmost, he may make a quick sortie at night, a very little way, to arrest men stated to be dangerous, or any other limited action necessary. . . . But the detachment that goes out on these very rare occasions ought to return by daybreak. If there are proceedings to be put down in a tribe, the coming of a column to move through the country must be awaited for calling them to account.

I will conclude my first notification with greater considerations. Suppose, as has happened, that an insurrection breaks out in several

Alterations have been made in those existing and local ones established without applying for my permission.

Great military and financial inconvenience arises from this state of things, and it must be put a stop to.

In consequence, &c.

The Governor-general of Algeria,  
Marshal DUEK D'ISLY.

parts of one province, or several provinces at the same, are we to think ourselves obliged to hasten in every direction to put out the blaze? This would be contrary to any good theory of war, and to the principles laid down long ago. Although our strength is large, it is not enough to make head against all the dangers at once that have arisen and will arise. So we must only divide our forces in due proportion, and so that every detachment shall be perfectly capable of beating the enemy that it may meet in the country where it has to operate. When it has conquered and cowed one, it hastens to the next. In a word, operations must be carried on as they were from 1841 to 1843. All the country was then unsubdued; did we attack all parts at once? No, we conquered them in succession. This successive action can the better be applied to this war, because the Arabs do not concentrate their forces from far; generally we have only to meet the local strength of a certain radius.

Leave the others then to rise in insurrection, and do not think yourselves obliged to run to the fire, wherever it breaks out. Strike quick and hard on the first focus or the principal focus.

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The Governor-general of Algeria,  
MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

A true copy.

Colonel doing duty as Chief of the Staff,

A. Pelissier.

Almost as soon as the Marshal landed, he wrote the following letter to M. Guizot:—

*Algiers, 18th October, 1845.*

I am quite convinced, my dear Minister, that a grand project of revolt has long been brewing all over Algeria. I caused it to miss fire last spring by crushing the first insurgents who made their appearance. It has been resumed through fanaticism that the Ramadan stirs up. Several serious mistakes, committed by brave and devoted officers, not skilful enough in war, have given the Emir advantages that have revived the ardour and hopes of the Arabs. Thus the circumstances are very serious, and require a speedy decision. There is no occasion now to take up your time with the troubles and requirements that had determined me not to return to Algeria unless I obtained satisfaction. I hurried to the fire. If I again have the happiness to put it out, I shall renew my solicitations to procure the adoption of measures of consolidation for the future. If I do not succeed, nothing in the world can tie me much longer to this Sis-

phean rock. It is really the time to tell you, as Marshal Villars did Louis XIV., 'I go to fight your enemies, and leave you in the midst of mine.'

BUGEAUD.

We have seen how enthusiastic the Algerian people were after the victor of Isly's triumphal return, and how easily they allowed themselves to run into the extreme of confidence. It is true that terror just as speedily gained sway over their minds at the first unfortunate incident, and never were people more disposed to exaggeration and panic than the population of our colony. And so, during the Governor-general's absence, the terrible event of Sidi-Brahim assumed the proportions of a fearful catastrophe and unprecedented disaster. To judge by the terror it caused in Algiers, the results of our campaigns might have been supposed to be entirely lost, and the Arab kingdom reconstituted in the hands of the powerful Emir.

This episode must therefore be dispassionately related, and the truth restored.

This event, very improperly designated by some writers as 'The Massacre of Sidi-Brahim,' was a war-like feat, in which our admirable soldiers, as usual, defended themselves like heroes of old, and sold their lives, foot by foot, after having at first compromised them very rashly. I find an exciting account of this battle of the giants in the *Zouaves and Chasseurs-à-pied*, by the Duke d'Aumale:—

For more than a year we had been occupying a little creek near the Moorish frontier called Djemâa-Ghazaouat, a very poor anchorage, but the best on this inhospitable shore, and the only point to be depended on for victualling the columns acting in this ceaselessly disturbed portion of our possessions. Although some establishments had been set up, the defences were hardly commenced. And so the

command had been entrusted to an officer of well-known vigour and resolution, Lieutenant-colonel de Montagnac. As everything seemed quiet on the frontier, more infantry, and especially cavalry, were concentrated at Djemâa than were wanted to defend this little post, for convenience of food and forage. A sudden report came that Abdel-Kader had collected a fresh force, and invaded our territory. General Cavaignac was commanding at Tlemcen, and made haste to concentrate his troops; so he sent orders to Djemâa, but Montagnac was already afield. Having information that the Emir was going to attack the tribe of the Souhalia, who had given many proofs of their fidelity, he thought that honour would not let him leave our allies unsuccoured, and, though he had formal orders to the contrary, he went out with sixty-two of the 2nd Hussars and 350 men of the 8th Orleans Regiment. In vain did the General's orders reach him at his first bivouac; he wanted to repulse the enemy before he obeyed them. Led on by his effervescent eagerness, and led astray by false information, he again divided his force, left Commandant Froment-Coste, of the eighth battalion, in camp, and advanced with his cavalry, supported by two companies of Chasseurs. An unequal combat soon commenced. Abdel-Kader was there with all his men. At the first fire Montagnac fell mortally wounded; in a few moments all the horses and nearly all the men were hit. Commandant Cognord, of the 2nd Hussars, rallied those that were left. This handful of brave men closed together upon a hillock, and never ceased fighting till their ammunition was exhausted. Then the Arabs, closing in upon this group, became motionless and silent, 'threw it down with their fire like an old wall.' The enemy only found corpses, and wounded who showed no sign of life. Before he died, Montagnac had sent to call Commandant Froment-Coste. He came up with one company, and this fresh detachment was surrounded, and, after a heroic defence, destroyed to the last man.\*

There remained the company of Carbineers of the 8th, under Captain de Géraux. The Arabs came pouring upon it from all sides. Indeed, it was the enemy's presence that apprised Géraux of his own danger and his comrades' fate. But his courage was undaunted. He collected his little force, seized the shrine of Sidi-Brahim within his reach, and barricaded himself there. A furious attack was immediately made. The fire of their powerful rifles decimated the assailants, and the boldest were thrust back with the

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\* Chef d'Escadron Courby de Cognord was wounded and unconscious, his head was just going to be cut off, when an old regular soldier of Abdel-Kader saw he was a superior officer by the braid of his pelisse. He was carried off, recovered, and was released the next year. He is now a general officer.—*Note by the Duke d'Aumale, 1855.*

bayonet. Abdel-Kader, who ruled the fight, suspended it a moment. He sent a written summons to the French captain, desiring him to stop a useless contest, and promising the lives of his men. Géreaux read the letter to the Chasseurs d'Orleans. Their only answer was shouts of 'Vive le Roi!' A tricolour flag, made of scraps of clothing, was hoisted on the shrine; they hastily made some loopholes; they cut their bullets in four or six to prolong the defence. The attack began with more vigour than before, but the fire stopped it again. Captain Dutertre, the adjutant-major of the battalion, made prisoner some hours before, came up to the shrine, and called out, 'Chasseurs, they are going to cut off my head if you do not lay down your arms, and I am come to tell you to die to the very last rather than surrender!' His head fell at once. Twice more was the summons sent, and the attack renewed; the ranks of our brave men were soon thinned, but not one of them hesitated. Weary of the struggle, the Emir, who had already lost more men than he had killed French that morning, had recourse to what he considered a surer method. He retired out of rifle-shot, and surrounded the shrine with a chain of posts that closed every exit. The Chasseurs had neither food nor water; they remained so three days! At last, on the morning of the 26th of September, Géreaux observed that the enemy's vigilance seemed relaxed. The men also were exhausted. They liked better to die fighting than by hunger and thirst. Géreaux rushed out with his little troop, seventy men, carrying a dozen wounded, broke through the enemy's line with the bayonet, and made his way to the crest of a line of hills that took him back to Djemâa. The boldness of this movement took the Arabs by surprise; they were afraid of the rifle-fire, and only followed the French at a distance. Our soldiers were just in harbour, they were in sight of the town, when some of them saw a thread of water at the bottom of a ravine. Those who have known the sufferings of thirst know that it is often impossible to resist this imperious need. In vain did Géreaux endeavour to keep his company upon the ridge he had held all the way. The officers alone remained, and were obliged to go down. The Arabs seized this moment with cruel ability. They seized the height, and crushed the unlucky Chasseurs with a plunging fire. Yet Géreaux endeavoured to continue the retreat. The remains of his little troop resumed the march in échelon of three little squares. But the Arabs had returned in greater numbers.

Lieutenant Chappedelaine and Doctor Rogazetti, who had continued gallantly to support their heroic chief, were killed. Géreaux, in turn, falls to rise no more. Everything was destroyed. Of all the column that had left Djemâa on the 21st, twelve men alone were rescued by a sortie of the little garrison Montagnac had left. But this dreadful struggle, notwithstanding its fatal issue, was enough to



make the name of Géréaux famous for ever, and the number 8 of the Orleans battalion.

When we read of this exciting and famous defence, we confess that we do not think we ought to transform it into a cowardly murder, assassination, or infamous trap, contrived by Abdel-Kader's soldiers. On the contrary, we claim, for Colonel Montagnac's and Captain Géréaux's little force, the honour of having fought against enemies worthy of their daring and courage.

The disaster of Sidi-Brahim was followed by another military disaster, which was more serious in some respects. A detachment of General Cavaignac's column had been sent to reinforce the little garrison of Aïn-Temouchent. They were 200 men lately out of hospital, unfit for campaigning work, but thought fit for duty at a stationary post. They were met on the way by the Chief Bou-Hamidi at the head of a considerable force, and the little troop laid down their arms without fighting. Such a thing, quite unknown till then, made the Arabs excessively proud. Writers in general omit the name of the officer commanding these 200 men ; we will also leave him in oblivion.

Commandant Billaut, of Sebdou Fort, got himself killed at this time, with Captain Dombasles, and five Hussars, who alone formed the escort, in an imprudent expedition that he made just as if the country had been at peace.

On the 9th of October, Lamoricière joined Cavaignac at the Col of Beni-Taza. The two Generals went to Djemâa-Ghazaouat for stores. A fortunate attack upon the Trara was followed by a march upon Nédrouma. Abdel-Kader, who was in

the neighbourhood, forwarded a letter to Commandant Courby de Cognord, the chief of the prisoners of Sidi-Brahim.

The Emir's policy was to seize upon every chance of negotiating. We shall see him, even to the last moment, dreaming of return to a kind of treaty of the Tafna, though quite impossible. As for the Marshal, he most absolutely rejected any proceeding such as could recognise the Emir, or even appear to treat him as a belligerent, though this systematical refusal might cost the lives of our unhappy prisoners of Sidi-Brahim and Aïn-Temouchent, as unfortunately was the case.

Meanwhile, Bou-Maza, openly despising Abdel-Kader's authority, and acting separately from him, appeared to be almost as unseizable as the Emir, and made head in a different country against General Bourjolly and Colonels Saint-Arnaud, Tartas,\* and Géry, all at once, appearing unexpectedly, sometimes in the Dahra, sometimes on the Mina, and again on the Chélif.

This was the military position in October, when the Marshal came and combined the action of all these detached bodies, putting them in motion himself.

General Lamoricière may have failed in coolness, but not in courage. He had none the less behaved as a gallant man of action, because he had been rather

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\* Tartas, Emile, born 2nd of August, 1796, at Mezin, Lot-et-Garonne, at eighteen entered Louis XVIII's Guards in 1814, and six months afterwards became sub-lieutenant in the cavalry. He was an instructor at the school of Saumur for several years, became lieutenant-colonel in 1840, and went to Algeria; was actively engaged in five campaigns and several expeditions, especially the last campaign against Abdel-Kader and the capture of Bou-Maza. General in 1848, he returned to France, and was elected to the Assembly by the department where he was born. Being a man of order, he voted against the Revolutionists. He was engaged in the repression that followed the *coup d'état* in 1852. Tartas was very cheerful, full of heartiness and animation.

too free in his announcement of the danger to the inhabitants of Algiers, when they were not immediately threatened. He had unhesitatingly joined his comrade Cavaignac at the western extremity of the colony, where the Emir had made his presence known by two feats of arms so disastrous for us.

Sure of his two lieutenants, the Marshal intended to go himself to another place in the line of defence, where invasion was probable. To pursue the Emir in the west was now out of the question, from the well-known suddenness of his movements, and so the Marshal chose the centre line of operations, between Tiaret and Teniet-el-Hâd, the better to conduct the chase in person.

At the same time he sent an urgent summons to France for his man of wisdom and action, Bedeau, whose whole military life had been spent on the Moorish frontier. Eighteen months ago he had been sent to rest in the government of Constantine, and now he was to guard the peace of the Tittery, behind the Marshal.

The lieutenants of the second grade at this time, who almost all afterwards attained the highest reputation as soldiers, completed the chain of defence over seven or eight degrees of longitude, between Bougie and Morocco, to a depth of two or three parallels of latitude. They were, beginning from the east, d'Arbouville from Sétif, Gentil, Marey, Yusuf, Pélissier, Géry. Beyond, westwards, those we have already mentioned under Lamoricière, Korte, and Cavaignac.

Children play at making a chain, holding each other's hands; they keep moving, and try to prevent an adversary from getting inside their semicircle.

We are far from comparing the watches and super-human labours of our army in Africa, during the winter of 1845-46, to child's play. But, with this exception, we persevere in the simile, because it is a good representation of the marches and counter-marches of our columns, actively and energetically striving to prevent the enemy from penetrating into the Tell.

By the enemy is here meant our chief adversary, Abdel-Kader ; for we had another. There was a wolf in the sheep-fold, in the person of Bou-Maza. He was as hard to catch within our circle as the Emir upon its circumference. Besides, the Bou-Mazas multiplied ; there were a dozen that arose in succession, distinguishing themselves by surnames, but all calling themselves Mohammed Ben Abdallah. An old Mahometan legend declared that a certain Mohammed Ben Abdallah was to throw us into the sea. And it was enough for a single fanatic to come and preach a holy war in that name, and the tribes that seemed most peaceable would rise.

Against these enemies within, the Marshal had organized a constellation of intrepid men of war, not inferior to the others in energy. They were, besides Bedeau, Comman at Blidah, Saint-Arnaud at Orléansville, Canrobert at Tenès, Bourjolly at Mostaganem, Eynard, with a movable corps, on the Chélif.\* We had as many as eighteen colonels in motion at one time.

The conflagration, it is true, broke out everywhere

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\* To these famous names should be added those of Bosquet, head of the Arab office at Mostaganem, and Captain Trochu, the Marshal's aide-de-camp. It is curious to see how many of these soldiers of 1845 were destined to win the Marshal's bâton of France. Three of them—Cavaignac, Trochu, and Mac-Mahon—were to become chiefs of the State.

at once, in the Dahra, on the Chélif and its tributaries, on the border of Morocco, and in the little desert of Tittery.

We will give a summary of the interior risings before we come to the Marshal's own operations against the Emir. In the course of the summer several isolated sherifs had preached a holy war, especially in the region between the Chélif and the sea ; a good many of them had been given up to the French power, and mercilessly punished.

As a specimen, we will give the history of a Mohammed Ben Abdallah, who appeared at the beginning of September, 1845, among the Beni-Ferah and the Beni-Menacer. The commanding officer at ChercHELL sent out 350 men to disperse the gathering. A very sharp fight took place on the 6th of September, in the Oued-Meselmoun. We had five killed and twenty-two wounded, when, in the middle of the hottest fire, Moullé, the head of the Arab office at ChercHELL, and the aga of the Beni-Menacer, came out of the ranks, showed the insurgents their folly, and promised them mercy if they would give up the fanatic. In an hour the Sherif Mohammed, bound, with his servant, was brought to ChercHELL, escorted by twenty-seven of the same Beni-Menacer, whom he had just drawn into a fight.

The two wretches were tried at Algiers before the military powers, the second court-martial, and the Court of Revision, and sentenced to be executed in the midst of the tribe they had stirred up. The Sancho got no more mercy than the Don Quixote.

His history was that of all the preachers of a holy war, Djehad, both before and after. A man

comes to the Arabs alone on a market-day, with a rosary in his hand, and some verses of the Koran in his mouth. Perhaps his hearers applaud him, perhaps they give him up; most frequently they follow him first, and give him up afterwards.

The same day that the Bou-Maza of the Beni-Menacer was executed, the 22nd of September, the very day of the fight at Sidi-Brahim, another Mohammed Ben Abdallah, the real Bou-Maza, made a sudden attack upon Bourjolly's column, moving on the higher Riou, and compelled it to retreat. On the 23rd, at Touazi, the General found his rear-guard sharply attacked; the squadrons of the 4th Chasseurs d'Afrique had to charge vigorously to disengage the 9th Chasseurs d'Orleans, whose commandant, Cler, was shot through the knee. Colonel Berthier, a King's orderly officer, was killed leading this charge. The column, continuing this difficult retreat, reached Relizane on the 25th.

Bou-Maza came as far as the gardens of Mostaganem, and was then driven back by Lieutenant-colonel Mellinet. Being attacked successively by Colonel G  ry and then General Bourjolly, Bou-Maza took to flight, not without loss. But all the winter he kept Saint-Arnaud, commanding Orl  ansville, and Canrobert, commanding Ten  s, in breathing. The latter inflicted a severe reverse upon him at Badjena the 29th and 30th of January, 1846. Bou-Maza was caught by Saint-Arnaud on the 15th of March at the Oued Ksa, and received a wound in the arm that never was cured. He was again chastised by Canrobert at Sidi-Khalifa on the 23rd and 24th of April.

Thus far the real Mahommed ben Abdallah, whom

we knew under the name of Bou-Maza. As for his namesakes they swarmed. Colonel Saint-Arnaud's correspondence shows enough of them; he says, 'All these sherifs appear and vanish.' Again, in December, 'I hunt the sherifs to death, and they come up like mushrooms. It is a perfect maze, one cannot find one's way. Besides the oldest Bou-Maza we have Mohammed-bel-Cassem, Bou-Ali, Ali-Chergui, Si-Larbi, Bel-Bej, and I get lost in them. I have killed Ali-Chergui among the Medjaja, and Bou-Ali among the Beni-Derjin, and I should be glad to catch Ben Hinni.'

On the 3rd of November a Sherif of only twenty, specially called Bou-Maza of the Beni-Zoug-Zoug, had contrived to stir up the tribes of the Chélif between Orléansville and Milianah, making a razzia upon the Ouled-Segris. On information of this, General Comman hastened his march towards Milianah to reassure the faithful tribes. The Beni-Zoug-Zoug arrested this fanatic, and took him to Milianah, where he was handed over to the higher powers.

The *Moniteur Algérien* says, 'This man, not more than twenty or twenty-two years of age, is incredibly fanatic and arrogant. He told those who questioned him that he was the messenger of God and a great Marabout, created to raise up the people of the East, and secure the triumph of the true believers' religion.'

In the papers of the time and the *Annales Algériennes* we find the examination of the pretended brother of Bou-Maza; his answers the day before his execution are most enthusiastic:—

*Q.* What have you to blame the French for? Theft, exaction, injustice, crimes? Tell the truth without fear.

*A.* None of that; the Arabs hate you because you are not of

their faith, because you are strangers. You now come to take their country, and to-morrow you will want their wives and children. The Arabs asked my brother, 'Lead us, let us begin the war again; every day that passes makes the Christians stronger; let us finish them this moment.'

*Q.* A great many Arabs know what to think of us, and are devoted to us.

*A.* There is but one God. My life is in His hand and yours; I will speak openly to you. Every day you find Mahommedans tell you that they love you, and are your servants. Do not believe it! They lie to you from fear or interest. Every time that there comes a Sherif who they think is able to conquer you they will follow him, and even would attack you in Algiers.

*Q.* How can the Arabs hope to conquer us, led by chiefs who have no army, no cannon, no treasures?

*A.* Victory comes from God; when He chooses He makes the weak to triumph, and brings down the strong.

The poor wretch was condemned to death by court-martial on the 15th of November. He has been supposed to be the brother of Bou-Maza, because he stated it upon his trial. But Arab fanatics often call themselves each other's brothers without there being anything but a spiritual connexion. The identity of the name Mohammed ben Abdallah makes the blood connexion unlikely.

On the 20th of September another Mohammed ben Abdallah arose in the Djebel Dira, southern part of the Tittery. He began by decapitating our Kaïds. General Marey went after him with a column of not less than 3000 men, and drove him back into the Djurjura, where, in November, he made head against a column D'Arbouville had brought from Sétif, as well as against Marey's. They could not catch him.

He joined Ben-Salem, and disturbed our Eastern marches all the latter part of the campaign. General d'Arbouville, like Saint-Arnaud upon the Chélif, reported several other chiefs also called Bou-Maza.

We find another Mohammed ben Abdallah in the



West before General Cavaignac. He gave himself the name of El-Fadel, and pretended he was a resurrection of Jesus.

There is a most curious letter sent by him :

MOHAMMED BEN ABDALLAH, SIDI EL FADEL, TO GENERAL  
CAVAIGNAC.

Praise to the one God! There is none joined with Him. From the servant of his God Mohammed ben Abdallah to the French leader, greeting to him who follows the true path. Know that God has sent me to you and to all others on the earth who are in error. I tell you that God has ordered us to tell you there is no other God but God, and Mahomet is His prophet. Do not adopt any other religion, God allows of no other but Islam. The Jew tells the Christian that he is an unbeliever, and the Christian tells the Jew the same. The truth for both of them would be to confess the Prophet, Mohammed.

Cease to do injustice and wrong; God loves it not. Know that He has sent me for you to submit to me. He has said, Submit to Me and to My messenger.

You know that a man will come who shall reign to the end of time. That man is I, Mohammed, sent by God, and chosen from the most holy of the Prophet's followers. I am the likeness of him that issued from the breath of God.

I am the likeness of our Lord Jesus. I am Jesus restored to life, as everyone knows, believing in God and His Prophet. If you believe not the words I speak to you in His name you will repent of it as sure as there is an all-powerful God in heaven.

This sort of apostles daily raised considerable difficulties before us in Africa. We cannot blame military justice, as its duty is to leave them for execution when caught. Yet we cannot forego a feeling approaching to admiration at seeing them unconcernedly braving a certain and speedy death, for a cause holy in their eyes.

The internal insurrection had gained head everywhere. Not taking too much notice of the little Sherifs, the Marshal's only object was to prevent the Emir from penetrating into the Tell. Bugeaud had supposed, and not without reason, that after Sidi-

Brahim Abdel-Kader would not endeavour to break through the line of fire that Lamoricière and Cavaignac opposed to him, but would go into the Tittery, and this caused the selection of his own line of action. Ten days after leaving Algiers he was at Teniet-el-Hâd, ninety leagues from his starting-point.

He remained between this post and Tiaret during the months of November and December, always on the alert patrolling all the valleys of the tributaries to the Chélif, and pushing towards the South as far as the Chott-el-Chergui. The Marshal's column came in contact with the Emir in person on the 23rd of December at Temda. Indeed, the affair was rather serious.

The Akbar newspaper gives this account:—

Information having been received that Abdel-Kader's camp was at the hill of Kouchtoute, the Duke d'Isly made his arrangements for going to fight him there. On the 22nd, at nightfall, all the cavalry moved, under General Yusuf; while the Marshal started with the infantry at daybreak to occupy a defile by which the Emir might attempt to escape.

In the valley of the Temda, Yusuf went after the Emir's baggage—part of it had already fallen into his power—when 700 or 800 horse came to meet our 450 spahis and chasseurs. After a general fight the enemy retired upon a position further back, where Abdel-Kader had erected a white standard as a rallying point. Our men followed them there; Abdel-Kader's horse was killed, and the Arabs could plainly be seen hurrying to their chief to mount him again. Then the enemy took up a third position, and was driven out again.

Our loss amounted to ten killed and twenty wounded, besides sixty horses killed, or dead from fatigue.

After these two months, the Marshal's column was so much worn out that he was obliged to send his cavalry, under Yusuf, back to Algiers, where it was broken up. As he could not send his infantry so far he led it to Orléansville on the 29th of December, and left it there. But he himself, after only

twenty-four hours' rest, took with him all Saint-Arnaud's column, leaving his exhausted battalions in exchange. The Marshal went again himself, he alone indefatigable.

Colonel Saint-Arnaud's correspondence appreciates the Marshal's proceedings in this campaign :—

*Oued-Isly, 27th December, 1845.*

The Marshal, with Yusuf, is running after Abdel-Kader; they never catch him, and he slips through their fingers. I am on the watch to attack him if he issues from any of the four valleys that I guard.

*Orléansville, 24th January, 1846.*

There is a wrong notion at Paris of what the Marshal has done in this long campaign, the most fatiguing he has ever undertaken. There was no battle to fight, because the enemy was always flying. There was only one thing to do. To prevent the Emir getting down into the plains, to wear him out and make him powerless. To do this the Marshal was obliged to show himself everywhere, with unrivalled activity, perseverance, and energy; I have lent my column to the Marshal. Well; everyone regrets the life at Orléansville because there was fighting. The fatigue was extreme, but every day gained something.

The Marshal marches and arranges. The country is bad; one is in want of everything, and it seems as if nothing was done. A man must be great and sure of himself to do such work as this. It would have injured a less solid reputation. The easiest thing in war is a battle, for the soldier, you understand. But manœuvring against an enemy at bay, who clings to everything, and is as active as a bird, is more difficult, and no one has done so much as the Marshal in this sort of way.

All this time the dance across, the going and coming of generals and colonels from right and left, was incessant. Yusuf circulating from Tiaret to Teniet-el-Hâd; Lamoricière from the Tell to Tiaret; Marey at Boghar; d'Arbouville from Sétif to Medeah.

From Orléansville the Marshal-governor had gone to the Nahr-Ouassel, as the Chélif is called in the upper part of its course. Not finding the Emir, he

went to Boghar, making Péliissier take his place, who had just taken a great convoy to Tiaret, and replaced Lamoricière, gone to Mascara.

There it was that the Emir, finding the line impenetrable in the West and centre, endeavoured to break through on the East, performing a miracle of boldness and speed. He suddenly made his appearance with his father-in-law, Ben-Salem, upon the Sebaou and the Isser, where he had never been seen since the treaty of the Tafna.

On the 5th of February, 1846, General Gentil attacked the camp of Ben-Salem, who had made a razzia upon our tribes on the Isser. What a surprise it was to the Marshal when he got information, from letters found on the dead, and from the prisoners' evidence, that the Emir had been present in person at Ben-Salem's camp on the 5th. By forced marches the Marshal joined General Gentil on the 9th; Bedeau followed him closely. Thus the Emir was very nearly getting back into the Mitidjah, as he did in 1840, after the affair of the Irongates. The alarm was great at Algiers, left without its garrison. So the Marshal called out the militia by telegraph in language, intended to reassure the colonists.

#### TELEGRAPHIC DESPATCH OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

*Boghar, 5th February, 1846.*

Execute my orders for the militia and the convicts. Danger is avoided by preparation. Should circumstances become serious, contrary to all expectation and all our efforts, general feeling would applaud this measure of prudence. It is possible that it may cause some excitement at the first moment; in a few days people will become used to it, and recognise that it is calculated to allay, and not excite alarm. There really is no serious danger, at least at present, and we quite expect to keep them off in the East as we have in the West. But my order is dictated by wise precaution.

An order was given at the same time to establish a camp at Bou-Farik. Yusuf, who had scarcely time to rest, also had the duty of forming a column for the possible protection of the Mitidjah, while General Gentil closed the principal entrance to the plain at the Col of the Beni-Aïcha.

As for Abdel-Kader, finding his enemy everywhere on the watch, he was prudent enough not to quit the flanks of the Djurjura.

And then the Marshal, finding himself without intending it so near his capital, entered unexpectedly, after five months' absence, on the 24th of February, at the head of Arbouville's column.

His return, when all were in such an excited state, was the occasion of most touching displays of feeling. The intrepid Marshal, before he took a moment's rest, reviewed two battalions of the Algiers militia that he found on foot.

This laborious campaign has been described with masterly strokes by the judicial pen of General Trochu, who, as aide-de-camp, had never left the Marshal, and had shared all his fatigues. We cannot do better than quote this remarkable account in full ; it mentions the events of the war, and the improvised triumph on returning, in exciting language :—

This campaign has not been the most fruitful in dangerous and brilliant combats, but the most extended, the most active, and the most effectual, of all those that have filled and honoured his rule in Algeria.

Eighteen movable columns were put in motion. The one led by the Marshal himself numbered no more than 2500 bayonets, and 400 sabres. Marches and counter-marches, crushing fatigue, unheard-of efforts, were exacted from all; but not one, to speak correctly, had any serious fighting with the enemy, for they, not having any organization, remained impossible to be caught, it might be said invisible. It was only at Temda that the Marshal's little cavalry force met Abdel-Kader's, which did not make much

resistance, and fled very speedily, as it appeared, in obedience to an order of dispersion. Finally, when the eighteen exhausted columns were operating at a distance, the Marshal's between Médéah and Boghar, suddenly information came that Abdel-Kader, turning the flank of them all, with 2000 horse from the South, had penetrated by the valley of the Isser as far as the Khrachna, killed their chiefs, our agents, and pillaged the tents. Thus he was at the entrance to the Mitidjah, the plain where the chief settlements lay, only guarded by three or four dozen scattered gendarmes a dozen leagues from Algiers, where there was no garrison, and where a battalion of men under sentence, as well as the militia, had to be raised in haste and armed. The alarm was of the sharpest; Algiers was not in any peril by it, nor Algeria, for Abdel-Kader's audacious diversion could only be an incursion; but the ears of the colonists in the Mitidjah had a narrow escape.

The Marshal's serenity in this formidable crisis—it may be said his cheerfulness—filled us with surprise and admiration. This consummate quietness of the responsible chief, on whom the Algerian and metropolitan press made ready to let loose all its wrath, and also continual watchings and fatigues, excessive for his age, were facts that gave higher relief to the Governor's powerful organization, both moral and physical, in this extra laborious campaign, lasting nearly a year. But his part in action did not differ, and could not differ, from that of the other generals in motion like himself with small forces, in pursuit of an enemy that had no body, and appeared everywhere unexpectedly, whilst the native populations, though they kept up communication with him, had generally submitted, and resumed their usual camping grounds.

The war ended on a sudden, as often happens, by an accident, that was an unexpected bit of luck. Abdel-Kader's cavaliers were men of the desert, great robbers, and had but one object, as soon as they were gorged with booty, to carry it back to their tents, an enterprise that had its difficulties and risks. Just at this moment, ten companies of young soldiers, newly come from France, and one battalion from Djidjelli, were sent at all risks against the Emir upon the Isser. They, themselves a little surprised I fancy, surprised at night these men, full of the notion of getting home I have mentioned. At the first shots the Arabs broke up and ran away southwards. Abdel-Kader was deserted, and very nearly taken; he never recovered this check, which cost us nothing.

The Marshal often talked with satisfaction of this campaign, and with good right, though it was not marked by any brilliant military action; it was one of the greatest crises, perhaps the greatest crisis of his Algerian career. When he entered Algiers in a soldier's overcoat worn quite threadbare, with a staff whose clothes were in shreds, marching at the head of a column of soldiers bronzed and emaciated, with resolute faces, and wearing their rags proudly, the

people's enthusiasm was at its height. The old Marshal fully enjoyed it. He had been close in sight of the hair on which Providence keeps great reputations and great careers hanging, and this at an age, sixty-two, when if this hair breaks it is very hard to unite it again.

Though this eloquent account of the five months' campaign from General Trochu's pen is complete, we think some passages of the Marshal's order of the day to the troops, on his return to Algiers, should not be passed over.

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All risings of any consequence have been put down in succession ; you have not allowed the ex-Emir to settle himself, or to make arrangements anywhere. As soon as he reached a spot you appeared there. Having failed everywhere in the Tell, from the Moorish frontier to the Djurjura, he found himself compelled to seek for support in Great Kabylia. Your columns chased him close, and by their bold bearing decided the northern Kabyles to repulse him from their country. He thought he could stay with those of the south, you soon drove him away. In his flight he attempted to deal a blow to our allies. Colonel Camou at Boin, like General Gentil upon the Isser, converted his attempt into a great defeat.

General Yusuf pursued him into the desert, caught him on the 13th, eighteen leagues south of Zarhez, that is to say, near ten leagues from the Tell. His material losses on this occasion were considerable, but the blow to his influence is greater still. How could he accomplish the plans he had formed against the south of the province of Constantine, while suffering under two defeats.

Abdel-Kader will seek for new soldiers to attack you again on the points where he thinks you weak.

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Your ardour will not diminish just when it is crowned with success at all points ; now that, giving up the defensive, you hasten to take the offensive at short distances, extending your arms over the spots on the desert where the storms are formed, that have come and will come to pour down upon you, if you do not go and break them up. You will remain like yourselves, and grateful France will honour you.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

The Algiers militia were not forgotten, though their labours could not be compared to those of the active columns.

## CHAPTER XI.

### ABDEL-KADER IN THE SOUTH (1846).

Abdel-Kader abandons the Djurjura and goes South—The Moors receive Algerian Fugitives—Duke d'Aumale's Return—Massacre of French Prisoners at the Deira—Abdel-Kader innocent of it—Mustapha-Ben-Thamy—Ministry object to any attack on Morocco—Military Operations—Foundation of the Town of Aumale—Mlle. Léonie's Marriage—M. Salvandy's visit to Algeria—Arab Chiefs' Address.

THE Marshal only took five days' rest at Algiers after his five months' campaign. On the 5th of March he again proceeded eastwards, sending before him this proclamation :—

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO ALL THE KABYLE TRIBES OF  
THE NORTH AND SOUTH SLOPES OF THE DJURJURA.

*Algiers, 2 March, 1846.*

A few days ago I wrote to you, before entering upon your land, to inform you that I was not coming to make war upon you, but only to drive out El-Hadj Abdel-Kader from your country, as well as the other disturbers who are working upon you, to bring you into hostility to us. You have seen that as soon as the ex-Emir left your mountains, I myself returned to Algiers.

But I am informed that Abdel-Kader has called you to meet at Bordj-Boghni, to provoke you again to what he calls the Holy War, as if it was the will of God to plunge all Mahometans into misery, and cause a large number of them to perish, as has already taken place in the centre and west.

Having exhausted all the resources, and goodwill of the Arabs, Abdel-Kader now addresses himself to the Kabyles, and offers them the same fate.

Some of you have answered his appeal; others have refused it, and they are the wisest.

In your interest more than mine, I wish to give you another salutary piece of advice.



Drive from among you Abdel-Kader, Ben-Salem, Bou-Chareb, and all the other ambitious plotters, who wish to drive you into the horrors of war.

I declare to you that I shall treat as enemies all the tribes who have received and assisted these evil men, and shall respect the territory of all those who have not heard their fatal counsels. They may come and trade freely with us, they will be respected, and justice always done them. The wicked, on the contrary, shall be treated as they deserve.

The meeting of Kabyles at Bordj-Boghni, that the Marshal mentions, was twice held in Abdel-Kader's presence, on the 27th of February and the 5th of March. Most likely they were not agreed, for the Emir went away, and on the 7th announced his westward march by a grand razzia upon a tribe between Boghar and Berouaghia.

The Marshal had again left Algiers to go by the Fondouk, where his expeditionary column was assembled, towards Bordj-Boghni, the very place where the council of war was held by the Emir and the Kabyles.

Yusuf's cavalry column was launched in pursuit of Abdel-Kader, and an infantry column under Lieutenant-colonel Camou. On receipt of information about the new razzia effected by the Emir, Colonel Camou went in pursuit, caught him in twenty-four hours, and re-captured 2500 head of cattle, 1000 camels, and 250 horses. The combat of the 10th of March, in which Abdel-Kader was nearly taken, gave the Marshal reason to think most highly of brave Colonel Camou.\*

There is an account of this affair, and the chase of the Emir by Yusuf's cavalry, in the *Moniteur*

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\* Camou, born in 1799. Entered the service in 1815. Made Captain in 1823, Colonel in 1844, General of Brigade in 1848, General of Division in 1852 (Imperial Guard), died in 1869.

*Algérien.* At the moment of the attack, Abdel-Kader could be seen between four standards unfurled, hesitating about fighting, and then resolved to fly, leaving the cattle and the rear of his convoy. To catch the Emir, Camou's infantry had marched eleven leagues without water.

Next day he was joined by General Yusuf, who took up the chase.

As for the Marshal, finding it impossible personally to follow an adversary who was so far ahead, he returned to Algiers thirteen days only after leaving it. Just as he entered the town, the Duke d'Aumale was landing with his brother-in-law, the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg. Like Bedeau, the Duke d'Aumale returned to Africa at the moment of danger. A few days after his coming he went to the Ouarensenis, attended by Commandant Rivet.\*

The end of this campaign is described by the Marshal in the letter below to his old interpreter, M. Léon Roches, now secretary of legation at Tangier. Thanks to his knowledge of Arab ways, he had procured the ratification of the boundary agreement, and when the Sidi-Brahim affair took place, and it was most important to obtain satisfaction from the Moors, and measures to prevent Abdel-Kader from making similar use of their territory, M. Roches again succeeded in breaking through the

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\* Rivet, Marie-Constant-Alphonse, born in 1810. In 1833 he went to Algiers, and was fighting there more than twenty years. Distinguished at Constantine, in the Ouarensenis, at Isly, and from 1834 to 1845 fourteen times mentioned in General Orders for brilliant feats of arms. General in 1852, engaged in the expedition to Kabylia as Chief of the Staff. Appointed to the army in the East, he was at the battle of the Alma, and siege of Sebastopol. He was struck by a grape-shot at the taking of the town on the 8th of September, 1855, and died during the day. General Rivet was a most gallant officer, and called to a brilliant career by his noble character, and ability. Rivet was the one of all his orderlies and aides-de-camp that Marshal Bugeaud most highly esteemed.

ordinary delays. Moorish affairs still occupied the Governor-general's thoughts very much.

*Algiers, 6 April, 1846.*

MY GOOD ROCHES,—

\* \* \* \* \*

. . . . I am writing to Generals Lamoricière and Cavaignac to consult them both. Is it useful and good policy to make a more serious expedition than the two last against Abdel-Kader's Deïra? Could we get together means enough to make this expedition, and remain powerful enough to cause the failure of any attempts the Emir might make along the whole southern line, if he is determined not to re-enter Morocco, or having entered, takes advantage of our difficulties to attack us again upon this line?

Before I tell you my view of this matter, I must give you a rapid sketch of the events that have passed since you left Algiers.

\* \* \* \* \*

On the 7th, Abdel-Kader, with 2000 horse, and a train of 800 pack-horses, made a razzia upon our aga Chourar, south of Oïra, and was triumphantly carrying off the spoils of our unfortunate allies, women and cattle.

Colonel Camou was about five leagues from the scene of the razzia, and hastened after him with three weak battalions, and 250 horse. Our handful of mounted men attacked the Emir's 2000 horse so gallantly, that we not only recovered the whole razzia, but a complete defeat of the enemy ensued. The Emir had only 300 regulars there, and they defended themselves bravely; 120 men were left on the field, among them Ouled-Tefenchir, Ouled-Gaïed, Bou-Khelika. The horsemen of Chourar supported us admirably on this grand day, and captured more than 400 saddled and bridled horses from the enemy. Abdel-Kader himself was in great danger; he had two horses killed under him. Old Berkani, stripped by our Arabs, was left naked upon the spot; it was a chance our horsemen did not kill him as they went by.

While this was going on, General Yusuf was making a digression towards the Ouled-Nail, so that he was quite ready to take up the hunt with 500 regular horse, and foot-soldiers who could march well. Joining Colonel Camou on the 9th, he proceeded south, upon the trail of the fugitives. Abdel-Kader had rallied his 800 mules, and was going towards Bou-Sâda by forced marches. General Yusuf managed to mount 500 picked infantry men upon beasts of burden, and after making thirty-six leagues in a very few hours of day and night, at last reached the Emir's camp, where no resistance was thought of. The 800 mules were captured, a good

number of the regulars taken, and Abdel-Kader, pursued a long time by our best mounted officers, disappeared southwards with sixteen of his men, the only ones who kept with him in this rout. He did not stop till he reached Messad, at the further end of the Ouled-Nail, where he could at last rally his fragments.

In the action of the 13th, General Yusuf recovered the interpreter Levy, made prisoner at the disastrous business of Sidi-Brahim, and Lieutenant Lacoste, given up, as you know, to our enemies by an infamous bit of treachery. These two poor men were each of them pierced by three balls when they came into our power. When the Emir made his escape, he had the base cruelty to cause them to be assassinated. M. Levy died some hours after his deliverance; M. Lacoste is in hospital at Boghar, there are hopes of saving him. The General rested his troops, and led them on after the Emir, who did not dare to await their coming at Messad, and went towards Zenina. The General reached Zenina twelve hours after the Emir was gone to Sidi-Bou-Zid, where the General missed him again on the 23rd.

From Sidi-Bou-Zid, Abdel-Kader retired into the Djebel-Amour, to a spot named Grhicha, near a fortified place called El-Gada. General Yusuf, still in pursuit, came within six leagues of El-Gada; then the Emir retired to the Ouled-Sidi-Cheikh.

Our column was then forced by want of food to retire to El-Beida, where a grand convoy was expected from Boghar. The General having got supplies for fifteen or sixteen days, was going further west across the Djebel-Amour, to take up our enemy's trail, when he heard that Abdel-Kader had quitted the Ouled-Sidi-Cheikh, and again gone eastwards, and on the first was in the Djebel-Serra, with the Ouled-Nail.

The General's plans had to be immediately changed; he went with his column towards the Djebel-Serra, quite intending to pursue our wonderful foe with determination.

I allow that I did not expect this fresh movement of the Emir; no doubt he made it after receiving reinforcements from his Deïra. We have been told that 200 horse were sent him by Bou-Hamidi. As I received this information, I was just going to embark for Oran; I wanted to meet Generals Lamoricière and Cavaignac there. I thought I ought to give up this voyage for the moment; and besides, I have caught a very bad cold, that has kept me in bed some days with much fever.

\* \* \* \* \*

What do you think would be the result of an attack upon the Deïra far within Morocco?

What should we gain by waiting? Will not the *status quo* be all to the Emir's advantage? Will he not quite naturally return

to the Riff countries to arrange a fresh invasion of Algeria, and then everything be to do over again ?

If one only had to decide oneself, I should not hesitate, for facts always impress people very much ; and I am convinced that they would give a successful interpretation for our army. But as I have told you before there is the question of possibilities, and that is not quite clear yet to me. I am endeavouring to obtain as complete an account as possible of our resources of every kind ; and if, contrary to my expectation, I found myself strong enough to do both things at once, whether Abdel-Kader has, or has not, gone back to Morocco, I think my decision would soon be made to go and strike my enemy to the heart.

Receive, my dear Roches, with my wishes for your happiness, the assurance of my very affectionate feelings.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

I had omitted to tell you that a column from Sétif was operating to the south of Bou-Sada with the same view as General Yusuf in the Djebel-Amour ; I have no information yet from this side. The Duke d'Aumale has left Milianah for the Ouarensenis, to attack Hadj-Sghari, who remains there, but has made no progress. Colonel Saint-Arnaud with the Orléansville column combines with this movement.

Bou-Maza had his arm broken in a last action on the 8th of March, and is not disturbing at present.

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In another letter, almost of the same time, we find the cares arising from policy and opinion in France :

TO M. GARDÈRE, AT PARIS.

*Algiers, 22nd March, 1846.*

MY DEAR GARDÈRE,—I found some hundreds of letters here on my second return. I drew yours out of the heap, and found in it, as always, the expression of a real friendship that I return to you.

I am not surprised that you are indignant at all the filth and folly that is thrown at my head. Could they do worse if I had lost a hundred fights and all Algeria ? I should think nothing has ever been seen like this effusion, without any foundation, because I have not experienced the slightest check, and at least have given a specimen of the greatest activity and an obstinate perseverance in conquering the hydra that enfolded me with his thousand heads. I am convinced that I never deserved better of France.

I take my revenge by success, my friend ; our business goes on in a way to drive to despair the journalists and the tacticians of the Chamber, whom you have heard in the discussion on the supplementary credits for Africa.

To save my time, always short, I send you my order of the day for the 18th of March.

You will understand that while I simply tell the facts, I have added some reflections, that answer critics of my fighting system, and that the whole is an answer to M. de Lamartine, who said, in the *Bien Public*, a general is judged by the result ; now it is clear the campaign has turned against us.

It is said he is going to attack me from the tribune, and M. Guizot is to answer him. So much the better. Adieu, I have only time to tell you that we love you, all as many as we are, and we love and honour your wife.

(Signed) BUGEAUD.

To conclude this six months' campaign, the hardest that was carried through by the French in Africa, we must mention that it deprived the Marshal of three leading comrades : General Bourjolly, made his final return to France ; Colonels Korte, Comman, and Gèry, had to resign their commands from illness. Rest came too late for the last two, who died soon after, worn out with toil.

A letter written at this time by the Marshal to the Duke d'Aumale, gives us a very exact view of the situation. As usual the Marshal, with full confidence, opens his heart to the young Prince whom he loved like one of his own children, as the Comtesse de Feray told us. We may suppose the anxieties the Marshal suffered from his generals as well as the Emir. We have thought it right only to publish military despatches, out of the interesting correspondence of Marshal Bugeaud with his lieutenant, the Duke d'Aumale, found among the family papers, considering it to be at least useless to make public the private, and sometimes bitter confidences that

the old soldier did not fear to address to the son of his king :

*Algiers, 6th April, 1846.*

MY PRINCE,—I have the honour to send you copies of some of my letters to Generals Marey and Yusuf. I think you will find it useful to read them. They will go a good way to show you what I think, and will make it unnecessary for me to write to you at as great length.

I am frightened at the rapid consumption of our cavalry. Yusuf has only 400 tired horses left, of 800 he had at his disposal on the 9th of March.

I have four squadrons left to relieve the 400 horses that Yusuf has remaining, that is to say, the squadron of Captain Talet under Milianah, two squadrons, one of the 1st chasseurs, the other of the 5th at Medeah, a squadron of the 5th with Colonel Ladmirault at Chabhounia. Lastly, I might collect about a hundred horses from the dépôts of the 1st African, and 5th chasseurs to make this column up to 500 horses. But that is all I have left; and as the cavalry that General Yusuf brings back will want six weeks or two months to recover, you see that a moment will come when we are reduced to impotence.

I have already been obliged to send Blangini's column into the Dahra with only 20 Spahis. He ought to have been joined by a portion of Ben-Mahiddin's goum.

I am very unwell at this moment, a heavy cold on the chest, and fever. This and Abdel-Kader's return to the Ouled-Nail have prevented my going to Oran.

We had very great difficulty in feeding General Yusuf's column, and it was even hindered by want of food and barley. What would happen then if we had several cavalry columns, as the great French captains wish! It is true their cavalry does not require a food train, it does not eat, and it steals.

I should very much like to make a serious diversion in Morocco; but, in truth, I do not know how I could collect the necessary force in face of all the other necessities that besiege us, and especially leaving the southern line sufficiently guarded against Abdel-Kader's attempts. I am thinking seriously of it, and sending an extraordinary vessel to Oran and Tangier.

At a pinch I could get together 7000 or 8000 infantry, but I should want 2000 horses, and how are they to be found when our cavalry is quite knocked up at all points?

In truth, there is a fresh regiment of chasseurs just coming instead of the 9th, who leave us all their horses. Perhaps, we shall be able to make up 1500 horses by the 15th of May. It is doubtful,

and if it was done, I must give up action against the desert on three points as I had intended. It is the utmost if we can act upon one. However, we can have a column from Sétif with four squadrons to move in the south-west of the Tittery. I am waiting to give the orders till this new feature of the war is well declared.

Receive, my Prince, the assurance of my respectful devotion.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

P.S.—I am giving orders to General Marey for the preparation of a column of infantry, cavalry, and transport to relieve General Yusuf's troops, who have been campaigning six months, except a few detachments of cavalry.

The squadron from Milianah, and a little squadron that I shall make up from the dépôts, will go to Médéah about the 15th, so that there may be about 500 horse with this second column.

I think, my Prince, that you will have returned to Médéah by that time. I long to see you there because Generals Marey and Yusuf are not very well agreed. Hasten your arrival as much as you can, I beg.

I ought to say that General Marey has done all that he could to assist General Yusuf, and the latter is wrong in his complaints. You will see by my letters to General Yusuf, that his complaints may very likely have been intended to cover his failure in what he had imprudently announced he could do.

However it is, as he has made use of his transport train to carry the packs of the infantry and the valises of the cavalry, and besides, he is in communication with several chiefs of the desert, and is of the sort that usually suits the Arabs of this country, I think it well to give him command of the second column.

If Colonel de Noue, commanding the cavalry, was worn out he might be relieved by d'Allonville, whom I am keeping at Blidah for the purpose.

After ripe reflection, and afraid of Yusuf's eccentricities, I allow General Marey to take command of the column he is getting together.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

In April 1846, the Grand Duke Constantine, second son of the Emperor of Russia,\* landed at

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\* The Duke d'Aumale afterwards told us, 'The Russian Prince, the Emperor Nicholas' second son, was a man of great ability and very high mind. Through his own fault he was always kept in retirement. He was several times compromised in conspiracies. His son was afterwards banished from the empire for serious faults. The father is himself now in disgrace and does not live in Russia; I have lately seen him in Paris.' The Grand Duke Constantine was born in 1827, was Grand Admiral, and Viceroy of Poland.



Algiers with his tutor, Vice-admiral Sutka. The Duke d'Aumale, summoned by the Governor-general, met the Grand Duke Constantine at Bou-Farik, and himself with the Marshal did the honours of the city. The Imperial squadron stayed a few days at Algiers.

Now comes one of the events that, if not among the most serious, is among the most painful that took place in our African wars; the massacre of the French prisoners taken at Sidi-Brahim, and Aïn-Temouchent.

We have seen that in consequence of these reverses a large number of our brave soldiers had fallen into the Emir's hands. During the month of March he had sent his brother-in-law, Mustapha-ben-Thamy to meet the Deïra on Moorish territory with the sick and wounded, who retarded the march of his light column. He was to take command of the Deïra, relieving Bou-Hamidi, one of the Khalifas, who was to join the Emir, bringing reinforcements drawn from the Deïra itself. The train of wounded reached the Deïra on the 10th of April, after 25 days' march.

The 27th of April the reinforcements had not started in consequence of disputes between Ben-Thamy and Bou-Hamidi. That day the prisoners observed great excitement among the natives. In the evening eleven of the chief prisoners, officers and non-commissioned officers, were separated from their companions. When night came the regulars who guarded the French soldiers proceeded to kill them. The victims were more than two hundred and fifty in number.

One man alone, trumpeter Guillaume Roland, of the 8th Chasseurs d'Orleans, escaped the murderers,

and managed to reach the French out-posts. This is his account of the horrible butchery :—

On the 27th of April, the Deïra was encamped about three leagues from Mouilah. Our prisoners occupied about twenty gourbis ranged along the river ; round them were some hundred gourbis for the regular foot, amounting to about 500. To make it easier to guard this camp, it was surrounded by a thick hedge of brushwood with only two openings in it. The remainder of the Deïra amounted to about 110 tents. The misery became terrible, and the desertions frequent ; the Moors refused to sell corn for the paper money issued by the Emir.

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In the afternoon of the 27th, about two or three o'clock, there came a messenger from Abdel-Kader ; and unusual measures were almost immediately taken. Three horsemen came to the prisoners' camp and took away the chief prisoners, under the pretence that they were to be present at a feast given by the khalifa Ben-Thamy. Those thus saved from the massacre were MM. Courby de Cognord, Lerazet, Marin, Nillerin, officers ; Thomas, Adjutant ; Testard, troop-sergeant-major of the hussars, Trottet, and two more.'

A little later they made all the prisoners leave the camp, to the number of 270, and divided them into fractions of seven or eight men, that were again distributed among the regular foot-soldiers. So these were also divided for the execution into groups of two or three gourbis, of which one was used for the captives ; at night-fall they were at once compelled to enter, and found themselves packed weaponless amid their murderers. Roland relates that he and his six comrades determined not to go to sleep. He had managed to get a knife, and to escape by stabbing the first soldier who came to kill them in the middle of the night. Although shot in the leg he contrived to reach a hill, where he heard the murderous firing and saw the gourbis catch fire ; from the uproar he supposes that his comrades defended themselves.

Information of the massacre did not reach Algiers till the end of May. General Cavaignac's column was sent as quick as possible to Mouïlah, but could not recover any of our unfortunate soldiers. The trumpeter Roland reached Lalla-Maghrnia, and was brought in on the 17th of May by a man of the Beni-Senassen.

In response to the general feeling of indignation, the Governor-general issued the following proclamation to the Arabs :—

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE ARABS AND KABYLES.

Perhaps you have heard of the barbarous act done upon 300 French prisoners by the son of Mahi-Eddin, whom you formerly called your Sultan. Seeing that these prisoners were claimed by the Emperor of Morocco, where they would have been set at liberty by our army, or because there was difficulty in feeding and guarding them, he ordered that they should be killed, and they are killed.

Every Arab gifted with common-sense and religious feeling will understand that this is an act of despair that shows the son of Mahi-Eddin is forsaken by God and man. It will be understood that he is no more merciful to Mahometans than to Christians, for when he killed the 300 prisoners of Djemâa-Ghazaouat, he exposed to our vengeance the 4000 or 5000 Arab prisoners who are in France, or in our strongholds on the Algerian coasts. Failing religion, this fear should have stopped him ; but he is become as savage as the lions and panthers. He will reap the fruit of his dreadful conduct. The Emperor Muley Abder-Rhaman will not take any more interest in him, and the Arabs who still remain attached to him cannot preserve their affection for him who has committed an unnecessary murder upon 300 prisoners.

Do not fear that we shall reply to his barbarity by a vengeance that might be twenty times as extensive. No harm will be done to the Arab prisoners, and they will be treated as before. You will thereby see the vast difference there is between our humanity and Abdel-Kader's disposition, and you certainly will regret that you have sacrificed your property and persons in defence of the cause of such an execrable man.

The Marshal in this accuses Abdel-Kader of murdering our prisoners. We do not seek to think

if the interests of policy prompted his words. In any case we do not believe in the Emir's guilt.

First, we must remember that when the murder took place, Abdel-Kader was in the south, being hunted by General Yusuf's column, and that he was near Gharza in the east of the Ouled-Nail's country, in the meridian of Bou-Sada, 680 kilomètres (some 500 miles) from the Deïra, as the crow flies.

He had left the Deïra in September, 1845, and did not return to it till the 18th of July, 1846. During his absence, many of his khalifas held in succession command over the Deïra; first it was Ben-Arach, who had formerly taken part in the treaty of Desmichels; then Bou-Hamidi; and lastly Ben-Thamy. Ben-Arach received the prisoners, and treated them as well as he was enabled to do, when all at the Deïra were suffering from want. Bou-Hamidi was kinder still to them. Lastly, the coming of Ben-Thamy made no change in their position till the time of the massacre.

As soon as this infernal idea was hatched in his brain, he called the chiefs of the Deïra together, informed them of his plan, and, being only opposed by Bou-Hamidi, persuaded them to get rid of the useless mouths; the very same evening the crime was accomplished.

After it, Abdel-Kader always protested that he was innocent, and he did everything he could to save and set at liberty the officers, whom the chiefs of the Deïra (perpetrators of the massacre) still kept as hostages. His habitual humanity, the care he always took of his prisoners, and, later on, his splendid conduct towards the Syrian Christians, make his participation in such a crime unlikely.

As this massacre was perpetrated beyond our boundary, it certainly gave grounds for a fresh invasion of Morocco ; yet the Marshal, who always hugged this notion, and thought that there only could he destroy Abdel-Kader's power, had to give up his warlike projects. It was the wishes, rather than the arguments, of M. Guizot, confidentially and cleverly presented by M. Roches, that won the day against the design so firmly fixed in the Governor-general's mind. More resigned than convinced, but sincerely resigned, he wrote the following letter to M. Guizot :—

*Algiers, 30th April, 1846.*

What you tell me of the line of conduct we ought to pursue towards Morocco seems to me to be very just, when I look at it from your point of view, and that is what one should take. Under an absolute government, and only considering the military question, and the success of our undertaking in Africa, I should argue differently. But you must have seen by my despatches, and the instructions I have just given to MM. Lamoricière and Cavaignac, that I entirely enter into your policy ; so have no anxiety on this account. It shall be done as you intend ; and I am going again to make use of your own language to make the generals on the frontier feel it thoroughly.

A few days before, in an access of discouragement and moral weariness, the Marshal had confided his intention of retirement, after the summer campaign :

*11th April, 1846.*

I know you want to defend me from the tribune, and would defend me well ; but would your eloquence efface the wrong that is done, and will be done every day ? Do you think that a man can continue to hold this laborious and confused position under such circumstances ?

My time is ended, that is clear ; the work having become something, everybody takes hold of it ; every one wishes to throw a stone at it, good or bad. I cannot oppose this torrent, and I will not follow it, so I leave its banks. I have already written the letter, in

which I request the War-Minister to submit my request for a successor to the King. I found my request upon my health and my age, not allowing me to bear such a burden any longer, and on my family affairs. But between ourselves, I tell you that my great reason is that I do not choose to be a promoter of the mistaken notions that very generally prevail as to the grand questions of Africa. I do not fear the great labours of the war or of the Government; my brave soldiers and the administrators of Algeria know that very well; but I fear public opinion gone astray. I am always full of gratitude for this grand duty having been entrusted to me. I have not forgotten that I owe it chiefly to you, and shall never forget it whatever happens. I also know that it is to you I am indebted for the good assistance I have received in this noble task. Thus you may count upon my grateful attachment, as I reckon upon your respect. Now I ask you one favour, that is, to procure me a definite leave for the beginning of July, with permission to appoint General Lamoricière as temporary governor, as well as to prolong my stay for some weeks, if I find myself encountering serious events. In three months I shall be delivered from this hell.

BUGEAUD.

The scene at the Deïra was being acted during the princely receptions, the festivities and balls given to the Czar Nicholas's brother at the Government Palace. The Governor-general left Algiers on the 6th of May, intending to make his way into the Ouarensenis in pursuit of the sherifs, and to terminate the resistance of the mountaineers.

His letter to the Duke d'Aumale is the most complete and true account of the Marshal's and his lieutenants' operations :—

*Bivouac of the Oued Figueal, 12th May, 1846.*

MY PRINCE,—I received your telegraphic despatch of the 7th a few moments after your two despatches of the same date. In the last you give me information about Abdel-Kader, and tell me that General Yusuf is sent into the Djebel Amour, with four battalions and his cavalry. You communicate to me the instructions you have given him, not only about military operations, but on the policy to follow with regard to the Djelloul and Ain-Madhi; lastly, you inform me of the state of the fines you have desired General Yusuf

to inpose and to receive in the Djebel Amour from the Ouled-Nail, whose pacification he is to complete.

I can only praise these arrangements. It is very good soldiering and policy to have sent General Yusuf into the Djebel-Amour, and I should have been sorry if it had not been done. The whole population must be convinced that we shall follow our enemy wherever he goes, and that we shall punish any one who gives him asylum or assistance; it is the best way to deprive him of both the one and the other, if it is employed with perseverance. It is also a proof of our power of locomotion, one of the great strengths of the French army.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have already had the honour to tell you that I should consider it very annoying if the operations in the desert were prolonged beyond the first fortnight in June. By that time General Yusuf's troops will be very tired, if they are not so before. Now I cannot see any means of renewing them, especially in cavalry: therefore it is necessary to pause in the employment of force, and to trust to the needs of the desert tribes for coming to the Tell to find food for cattle and buy corn that comes from our forts, if not grown in the country.

\* \* \* \* \*

We have learnt how to make our way into the desert, our experience must not remain without value for the future; we must pursue it, and this is the way I intend: to establish at Boghar, Tiaret, and Dhaya, some of the bases essential for the organization of three light columns like that of General Yusuf, which has produced such happy results, so that it may only be necessary to make requisition for sufficient transport among the tribes, and for us to collect the cavalry and infantry force necessary to act in the desert as we have done; and this will secure the fidelity of the Djedid, the Ben-Aouda, and others, better than all the other things, that must, however, not be neglected.

\* \* \* \* \*

No doubt, sooner or later, a magazine fort must be established in the east of the Tittery; not to control the country, for nothing can control it but sufficient movable columns, but to have provisions ready, and some resources for the wounded and sick, within easier reach of the operating columns.

\* \* \* \* \*

By the 15th of next April, as soon as there is grass, work should be begun, and be far advanced by the month of June. Before the winter of 1847, this post will be in good order.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our affairs in the Dahra are going on very well. General

Pélissier has made all the fractions of the Beni-Zerouel capitulate, either in the open country or in their caves, which have been mined and made untenable after their evacuation. This time there has been no recourse to the method of fire, that afflicted our philanthropists so much. But it is right to tell these tender souls that the recollection of the Ouled-Riah's fate has induced the submission of the Beni-Zerouel, without great shedding of blood, and will induce submission of many others.

Bou-Maza, finding himself pressed by General Pélissier, Colonels Saint-Arnaud, and Canrobert, has gone into the mountains on the left bank of the Chélif, escorted by 34 horsemen. He was carried stretched out upon a mule, as his wound continues in a very bad state.

The Beni-Lentès-Mediouna have made their submission to M. de Saint-Arnaud. The insurrection, beaten three times by him and Lieutenant-colonel Canrobert, is now confined to the Aachacha and Ouled-Djounes, who live in a very difficult country on the sea-coast. When M. de Saint-Arnaud found matters were in this condition, he returned to Orléansville with some of his force. He will enter the Ouarensenis by the Oued-el-Ardjens on the 14th or 15th. He will hunt for Bou-Maza among the Ouled-Bou-Sliman, and then turn our way to fall upon the people we shall drive towards him.

I am establishing a *biscuit-ville* on the Oued-Figuesal, just at the foot of the mountains, and shall not really enter them till the 14th, when I shall take some battalions through them without packs.

Now this is the news of the western frontier. The Beni-Amer, numbering 15,000 persons, of whom 600 to 700 are horsemen, have left the Deïra, and buried themselves in Morocco, escorted by 300 of the Emperor's horse. This is a literal violation of the treaty of Lalla-Maghrnia, but it cannot be denied that it is within its spirit, for it is a great dismemberment of the Deïra, and consequently a serious blow to the Emir's power. It is believed that Bou-Hamidi, who is with his master, has himself favoured this migration.

I think this act of the Emperor's is an accommodation of conscience with his subjects. He wanted to injure the Emir's power, without any risk of being called a bad Mahometan. The interning of Miloud-ben-Arach with all his followers is a fact of the same import as the escape of the Beni-Amer.

In contradiction to this conduct, the Emperor has replaced the authorities of Ouchda by men who aforesaid have favoured Abdel-Kader very much. This can only be explained by the habitually incoherent policy of this court.

On another side, the Emperor is gone to Mequinez, and his son—the one who was beaten at Isly, is collecting a force at Fez. I cannot believe that it is against us. It is not characteristic of him to want



revenge ; more likely he intends to keep a little better order on the frontier, and take away our wish to intervene, and expedite the dispersion of the Deïra.

General Cavaignac thinks differently about this ; but I none the less keep my own opinion, and write to him that all the late events ought to prevent us from undertaking a long and distant enterprise upon the Moorish territory. I write to him to confine himself to some short expeditions, for inflicting chastisement upon the nearest tribes that have perpetrated hostilities against us, favouring the return of our tribes. These return in small parcels, and the two banks of the Tafna are being refurnished.

On the whole I consider that the situation on this side is much improved. If Abdel-Kader enters in his present state of dilapidation, he cannot but increase the state of discouragement, considerable even now, among the emigrants still with him.

A proof of the greatness of this discouragement is that the tribes of the south and east of Tlemcen, who were going towards the Deïra by the south, have turned back eastwards, when they learnt the position of the emigrants.

Receive, my Prince, my thanks for the good service you do us, and the assurance of my respect and devotion.

MARSHAL DURE D'ISLY.

In a letter written a few days afterwards to M. Léon Roches, secretary of embassy to Morocco, the Marshal mentions the Emir's state of distress :—

*Algiers, 31st May, 1846.*

MY DEAR ROCHES,—I do not mean to excuse myself from writing to you, though I have so little time, and my letter to the Consul-general might be sufficient for both. In fact, I have not much more to tell you, only that every day particulars come in, confirming our absolute success.

All the desert tribes, from the meridian of Tiaret as far as Bou-Sada, are organized, and as humble as their own sheep. They have paid heavy contributions without the smallest difficulty. Yusuf is bringing back 400 horses, all fit for cavalry remounts. Independently of this, there are a lot of cattle, and sheep, and money.

General Yusuf's choueifs have followed the Emir as far as the western extremity of the Ouled-Sidi-Cheikh. They say that there were about 150 scattered horsemen on the way, some dismounted, some dragging their horses by the head, others mounted on starved and wounded jades.

If this report is true, and Yusuf declares it is, I should have pity upon his condition, had he not committed the crime of ordering the murder of our prisoners.

The breaking up of the Deïra leaves him no more resources on this side. So what will he do? He cannot suppose himself, distressed as he is, to be dangerous to the Emperor of Morocco.

Some say he is going to retire into the Touat. I should think that very strange. Others, to Figuig, much more credible; others, into Great Kabylia, that I should think difficult; others again, to Kairouan, in the south of Tunis.

If he had not committed the great crime and great mistake of killing our prisoners, the best thing he could do would be to throw himself on the generosity of France, and go to Mecca with a good pension.

If I do not pity Abdel-Kader, I have pitied you very much for remaining a married bachelor after receiving the holy water. But you are at present buried in the honeymoon, and to be envied. This moon will not come again with me, but I am in my glory-moon. I have conquered the Bedouins of France as well as those of Africa. I think those of France are readier to resume hostilities than those of Africa. They now say that it was nothing; that it was not worth the trouble of looking after it with such large means as I had; that I ought to have done it much quicker and better.

I am going into the province of Oran, to get a good view of the situation on the western frontier, and if there is occasion, preventing disturbance of the favourable march of affairs.

Much friendship, my dear Roches. You cannot be happier than I wish.

Give my respects to Mme. Roches. It would be very nice of you to bring her here for the time between two steamers, if your presence is not absolutely required by business.

Your father-in-law ought to be much delighted with the turn things have taken; they go as he would have them, but he must see that it was well to talk of great teeth.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

On the 20th of May, the Marshal entered the Ouarensenis in pursuit of the people collected in the gorges close to the great peak. These were the refuges the Arabs had retired to during the former invasion of 1842. Leaving Colonel Saint-Arnaud engaged in preventing their escape, the Marshal re-

turned to Algiers on the 25th of May. There was general quiet, and military operations in the province of Algiers had come to an end ; the Ouarensenis, the Dahra, the Djebel-Amour, and the Ouled-Nail, gave no sign of resistance. The Duke d'Aumale returned to Algiers on the 2nd of June.

'After having pacified the Ouennougha,' said the Governor-general, in his order of the day of the 4th of June, 1846, 'organized the countries newly subdued in the desert of the Tittery, and those who had taken part in the revolt, the Prince leaves a depth of 140 leagues in peace and obedience.'

The following letter from the Marshal alludes to the two events, the marriage of Mademoiselle Bugeaud and the foundation of the city of Aumale :—

TO H.R.H. THE DUKE D'AUMALE.

*Algiers, the 22nd of June, 1846.*

MY PRINCE,—You inform me in the letter that you did me the honour of writing to me on the 16th, that you would pass Algiers, and not stop there. We hope that it will not be so, and that you will at least pay us a visit incognito, if only to sign my daughter's marriage-contract, an honour that would please us very much.

You expect to find the Prince de Joinville upon our coasts. We really learn that his squadron is manœuvring between the Balearic Isles and Toulon.

\* \* \* \* \*

It seems there is no more perfect and general order in Africa than perfect happiness on earth ; while the provinces of Oran and Algiers are pacified in an unhoped-for way, the province of Constantine, once so peaceful, is hostile in two places, and slightly disturbed in others.

General Randon, being at Tebessa, chose to send his sick to Guelma without an escort ; an officer of spahis and five or six native spahis guiding this train, composed of thirty-two French persons, among them being a captain of the 5th Hussars and a surgeon. When they came to the Ouled-Yahia-Ben-Thaleb they were attacked by a cloud of enemies, and all killed. I am very much afraid there was some rashness. They say that the bearing of the tribes was unsatisfactory ; that the day before they had killed a non-

commissioned officer, and fired into the camp at night; that the officer of spahis, the conductor of the train, had represented that the march to Guelma was dangerous, &c. We shall know later on what to believe.

Next day General Randon crushed a party of the Ouled-Yahia; he captured and killed several, and took 12,000 to 15,000 head of cattle. Then he went to Guelma for fresh supplies. General Bedeau sent him a reinforcement of a battalion and a squadron, and he ought to have entered Tebessa on the 18th.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Confidential.*—Lieutenant-colonel Lheureux is sent to General Bedeau to offer him the temporary governor-generalship. General Bar wants leave to go to France with me. You know that General d'Arbouville commands the province of Oran temporarily by order of council.

\* \* \* \* \*

We are glad, sir, that when you leave Africa, you will carry with you fresh sympathy for its army. Be sure that there is reciprocity.

\* \* \* \* \*

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

On the 7th of July, 1846, there landed at Algiers M. de Salvandy, the Minister of Public Instruction, the first Minister who had touched the soil of Algeria since the conquest. Besides the Comtesse de Salvandy, he had with him M. Xavier Marmier, a man of letters, and M. Mallet.

The civil service agents, the clergy, and the magistrates, were officially presented to the Minister by the Marshal in the Government Palace. But the next day he started with his guests for Médéah, passing by Bou-Farik and Blidah. As they left Algiers, they were saluted by Colonel Daumas, the goum of the Arabs, and the Khalifa of the Sebaou; there was a grand fantasia on the Agha road as far as Birkhadem. The party visited the monument of Beni-Mered, near Blidah; the gorges of the Chiffa, Mouzaia, and Medeah, where General Magnan showed

his noble guests some Arab sports. They then returned by the Col de Mouzaia and Blidah.

The Minister also visited Orléansville, where the honours were done by Colonel Saint-Arnaud, and then went to Charchell. At Tenès, where they found a large European population, Bugeaud took care to tell the Minister, 'The three-year-old baby has grown to be a giant.'

When the Arab chiefs of the Tittery heard that their Governor's daughter was to be married, they sent the following address :—

We pray God to prolong your days so that you may see the children of your children.

We have been told that, after this marriage, you are going to France to remain there some days, and return to us. We are grieved at this information, and feel the more pain at your departure, because we have been able to recognise your goodness. We know that you protect religion, watch over the poor, that you have caused mosques to be built, re-peopled the schools of the Marabouts, tried to do good everywhere ; lastly, have done good service in this country, unequalled services before this day, which will not be surpassed in future. So that your name is in the mouths of all at every moment. If you have sometimes been in wrath against the children of sin, your conduct has the best results for us. By such methods is an empire founded.

## CHAPTER XII.

### KABYLIA, FINAL DEPARTURE (1846-47).

The Arab Tax—Vexation—Submission of Ben Salem and Bel Kassem—Capture of Bou-Maza—Campaign in Kabylia—Adieu to the Colony—Proclamations—Marshal's Opinions of his Lieutenants—The Young Officers.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD returned to France during the month of July, and spent all his leave at home, at La Durantie. The elections took place in August, and his neighbours at Excideuil nominated him again, while the Ministry, led by M. Guizot, was receiving a fresh note of encouragement from the French constituency. The Minister said at the time of the elections, 'All the political parties will promise you progress, conservative policy alone will give it you.' Unhappily dynastic and liberal opposition, in Algeria as well as France, by its rashness and plots, overthrew these two great representatives of power and progress, after tiring out their courage and distorting their intentions.

And yet, could there be any citizens who applied themselves with more devotion, self-denial, we might call it passion, to their country's service than these two men of such different character?

The Marshal's short rest at La Durantie was still employed by him in thoughts of Algeria; and we find, on the date of October 15, a report on the Arab tax, in which the old soldier's good sense and practical mind must have greatly astonished the bureaucrats of Paris, who, in the heart of their offices, had

prepared a law for the assessment and collection of taxes from the Arabs.

This long despatch, written under the shades of La Durantie, shows how the men of that day looked upon their duty, and how conscientiously they performed it.

We give some extracts of this remarkable document.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD TO THE MARSHAL WAR-MINISTER.

*La Durantie, 15th October, 1846.*

SIR,—I have received a copy of the letter written by you to the temporary Governor, dated 26th of September, relating to the settlement of the Arab tax. You also request my opinion.

I have thought, and I do so still, that there is a great deal too much hurry to settle the Arab taxes according to French notions of accounts and collection. In my opinion settlement of the Arab taxes is an expression that has determined to make its appearance in the present state of the conquest.

If it be determined to arrange everything in French style, a whole labyrinth of difficulties would make its appearance, and enormous expenses arise, for there must be a quantity of agents, who would swallow up this small tax. This is another occasion for saying that sometimes the better spoils the good.

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Policy is the chief reason against the assessment and collection of the Arab tax being settled on unchangeable rules, as they are in France. There are a multitude of circumstances and facts that require modifications made to suit them. Thus, for example, if you are threatened with an invasion of Abdel-Kader in a country that has already been hard worked by his agents, that is no case for rigour, or an increase of taxation, even though statistical information shows that it may be capable of augmentation. We acted thus several times in the last crisis.

Other tribes having remained faithful to us, and having suffered in consequence of their fidelity, we have been obliged to ask less from them, to indemnify them a little for their losses, and recompense them for their devotion to our cause.

If the schedules for the year were unchangeably fixed, these relaxations could not take place.

There is a principle in the Arab taxation, very different to the practice in France, that seems to me much more equitable. I believe this principle is hallowed by the Koran; the tax can only be levied

in proportion to the production. And so drought has to be taken into consideration, fogs, too long a rainy season in the spring, locusts, &c. These scourges appear at different times; and so the Arab offices must have latitude for altering the tax, according to these different circumstances, while on the contrary in France your tax is unchangeable whether there is any crop or not.

You see, sir, for all these reasons, and others that I cannot mention in a letter hastily written, that it would be very difficult to assimilate the Arab taxes to the French.

As to the mode of collection, I should think an alteration difficult. I should even say it would be a misfortune, for it would cost us much more and give rise to frequent murders of the collectors.

The subdivision of the tax also, it seems to me, should remain as it is now; being arranged by the Djemâa (assembly of the principal persons in each tribe) under some superintendence of the Arab office, occasion being taken to ascertain if there are any complaints as to this subdivision. Indeed, sometimes an officer of the Arab office is present at this operation, but you will understand that it would be impossible for these officers, so few as they are, to be present at all these numerous gatherings over such a large space of country. It would necessitate continual journeys, with little escorts that would weary the cavalry, and give rise to accidents if revolts should break out when these officers were on circuit. Military prudence and policy require that the Arabs should only be visited with a respectable force. It is in these sort of visits that taxes in arrear are collected, malefactors are arrested, injustice by the Arab chiefs redressed, and satisfaction obtained for any complaints against the tribe; finally, this is the way to gradually learn to know the country and its power of payment. But it is an impossibility and an imprudence at present to endeavour to reduce all Algeria to the financial rules of France.

I would also beg you to observe, and to call attention to the fact, that military officers have been exceedingly zealous in increasing this tax. I found it less than 500,000 francs in 1841; at the present moment it must be at least five millions, and in 1846 we increased it by large war contributions. We shall do better still according to opportunity, while observing the politic discretion that must be our first rule. This comes much before formal regularity.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

In the course of November the Governor-general was recalled to Algiers by news of a serious inundation of the Harrach. It seemed as if his very presence could restrain the elements as it did the Arabs;



indeed, he could scarcely sail for France but disasters or calamities descended upon our colony.

A parliamentary commission of Left Centre deputies, among them MM. de Tocqueville, de Lavergne, Plichon, and Béchamel, had just arrived at Algiers. The Governor made a point of going with them to the chief places in the province, Blidah, Médéah, Milianah, Orléansville.\*

The Marshal returned to Algiers on the 5th of December. All his excursions, all his tours were his means of studying the wants of his subjects and working for their benefit. He was always requisitioning fresh subsidies from Paris, and when his faithful ally, his beloved lieutenant, the Duke d'Aumale, was in France, the old Marshal laid upon him the duty of pleading for their dear Algeria. The following letter from the young Prince shows how these two men served their country :—

TO MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

*Paris, 31st December, 1846.*

MY DEAR MARSHAL,—As soon as I received your letter of the 25th December, I made a point of laying it before the King, together with a note insisting on the importance of the roads and communications that you mention, and the inconvenience of their impracticability. You know the King's great care for Algerian interests. He seemed very much struck both with what you wrote and I told him. He took your letter and my note to the council, and though the budget for 1848 was already discussed, the question was again

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\* Colonel de Saint-Arnaud wrote from Orléansville, 29th November, 1846 : 'Now for five days my mind, my legs, and my horses have not been out of harness. My body is less weary than my mind; but to hold one's own with a marshal, who likes talking, with four deputies and two journalists, who are always asking questions *ab hoc*, and *ab hac*, is too much, and I surrendered. I went, on Tuesday, the 25th, to meet the Marshal at Oued Fodda, with a squadron. We met in the course of the day and dined and camped together. With him were MM. de Tocqueville, de Lavergne, Béchamel, and Plichon, Deputies; de Broë, and de Bussièrès, literary men (*Débats* and *Revue des Deux Mondes*). M. de Tocqueville went in for methodical, profound, and analytical observation . . . We had three Homeric repasts, each laid for eighteen, reception, and royal entry into Orléansville, guns, troops lining the road, illuminations, plays, etc.'

considered. But the council considered that the state of our finances would not allow them to ask for such a disposition as you point out; and decided that the budget of 1848, as compared with that of 1847, should only bear an increase of 500,000 francs to the credit of the roads, and a fresh allotment of 400,000 for building aqueducts.\*

Marshal, I am very sorry I could not get any more; do not think it was my wish that was wanting if I was not a better advocate. I thank you for having counted on me as one of the most zealous, if not the most influential supporters of the real interests of Algeria. Allow me, on the occasion of this new year, to unite my vows to yours for the success of this grand cause, and also receive my wishes for your own happiness, as well as assurance of the sincere attachment with which I am your affectionate,

H. D'ORLEANS.

While the Duke d'Aumale was sending this letter to the Marshal, he, always full of the question of military organization, was writing to the King :—

TO HIS MAJESTY KING LOUIS PHILIPPE.

*Algiers, 30th December, 1846.*

Sire,—When I enjoyed the peculiar honour, in the month of September last, of conversing with your Majesty on the importance of military colonisation, in order to consolidate our conquest, you seemed to share my opinion, as you did the year before, at a council to which I was summoned. Your Majesty desired me to speak to M. Guizot about it, and before my departure try to get a formal promise from that Minister to bring the question before the Chambers as soon as the next session opens, by asking for a credit to make the attempt. M. Guizot undertook this, as far as concerned himself; he could not promise for his colleagues. So I had reason to count upon success, because I had the King's consent, and that of a Minister who most properly exercises great influence over the council. Yet I learn that the question has been deferred after long deliberation. Is this a final refusal? Perhaps your Majesty will be kind enough to remember the words I had the honour to address to you, when insisting upon my return to Africa, these words, 'Sire, I obey, but I beg your Majesty to arrange for me to have something great and decisive to

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\* At this time of loyal action by the Parliamentary Government, a son of the King, a King himself, had scruples about arranging for the expenditure of a few hundred thousands of francs, most undoubtedly necessary. Then there was great difference from the jaunty way that hundreds of millions for primary instruction, and milliards for public works, are voted with acclamation by the Republican Chambers of 1882, without any regard for ways and means.

do in colonisation. Having done considerable things that have settled the two first questions, the conquest of the country and the organization of Arab government, I do not care to exhaust myself in the labours of an impotent re-peopling that cannot satisfy the public impatience in any respect, and will cause me every day to be assailed with criticism and even abuse.' I have just forwarded a memorandum on colonisation in general to M. Guizot. I request your Majesty to be kind enough to receive a copy. If this paper does not bring the majority of the council over to my side, I shall have nothing left to do but to pray that better means may be found to secure the future of Algeria.

I am, &c., &c.,

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

The year 1847 was to be a decisive one for Algeria. It beheld the almost entire completion of the great work of conquest and pacification undertaken by Marshal Bugeaud. But more than one fight was still necessary to secure this long-expected result.

A murderous engagement took place on the 10th of January between General Herbillon and the Ouled-Djellal, whom Bou-Maza had just visited. A fortified village was carried by our soldiers. On another side, General Marey-Monge, commanding at Médéah, fell upon the Ouled-Nail, who, following Abdel-Kader, had received Bou-Maza, and given him assistance in men and food. Some days afterwards, Bou-Maza himself was chased between Tiaret and the forest of pines and gigantic cedars of Teniet-el-Had. The chief's escort was routed, and his treasure captured.

While General Lamoricière, just elected deputy, was leaving Oran to take his seat in the Chamber upon the opposition benches, the Marshal, with Colonel Rivet and his son-in-law, Commandant Feray, was embarking for a visit to the new port

of Aumale. Although the Duke d'Aumale was then in France, Bugeaud, as his practice was, kept him perfectly informed of the events that took place in Algeria, and kept up an active correspondence with him whom he considered his successor. We have not the Governor's letters to the Prince; but in return, here is a very interesting reply from the Duke d'Aumale:—

*Paris, 25th March, 1847.*

MY DEAR MARSHAL,—I should have thanked you several days ago for the kind and hearty letter, in which you give me so much curious information as to the town that bears my name, unworthy as I am of it. But M. Guizot told me that you were very soon coming to Paris, and I was delightedly preparing to answer you by word of mouth, when I heard that you were detained at Algiers by illness. Just now, however anxious I may be for your speedy cure and arrival, I cannot tell when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you, and so no further prolong my silence, although I do not know where or when this letter may reach you.

You cannot doubt the satisfaction with which all the real friends of Algeria, and I claim to be one, have heard of the important events taking place in Kabylia. The submissions you went to receive at Aumale, and the others that were simultaneously effected at Bougie, Sétif, and Philippeville, are very important symptoms, and a very fine argument for those who do not believe that Kabylia may be struck out of the map of Algeria when we choose. You know that I have always been a faithful supporter of the entire dominion, without limitation and with all its consequences.

Your presence in Paris must throw light upon this question. It would also be very useful for you to lend the support of your words and experience to the plan of colonisation proposed by the Government; it meets with obstacles and scruples that, if not originating in, have at least been encouraged by the state of our finances. But you ought to be better informed than I am as to the state of things; and very soon will be able to judge for yourself. I hope to have sometimes an opportunity of conversing with you about them; I also long to talk to you about everything to do with the arming of our infantry and the improvement of our firing; it is a great question, and I think ought to engage the serious attention of all men of war.

Believe, my dear Marshal, in the very sincere attachment of

Your affectionate

H. D'ORLEANS.

I have not forgotten the application you made me for the church at Aumale. Our offering is at your disposal, as soon as you can inform us that it will be useful, and that some work is settled and begun.

At the same time we find these two letters, written by the Marshal to his wife :—

*Algiers, 20th February, 1847.*

It is true, my love, I have not written to you before, as it did not seem necessary. It seemed as if I had not left you, I was so near you ; your atmosphere reached me at a distance, and I have not left the Sahel.

General ———'s softness obliged me to come back one or two days sooner than I expected. He has let the question we had settled be raised again in the council without its head. So I shall be with you to-night, my love ; love me a little near as you love me afar off, and I shall be the happiest man in the colony, as I am the most powerful. And you thought that Trochu and Fourichon were the only people that knew how to make you sweet speeches ?

BUGEAUD.

*Aumale, 26th February, 1847.*

MY LOVE,—We had a very bad day yesterday, but my health has not suffered. Whatever happens, I have quite settled not to go away from here till fine weather comes back. I have also decided on returning straight to Algiers, so as not to spend two more days in coming by Médéah. The letter you told me of is not so bad as you seemed to think. The Minister is embarrassed by the hasty adoption of Lamoricière's system, and the ordinance that establishes eight communes. Anyway, I have made a suitable reply. Every minute I am expecting Ben-Salem, Bou-Chareb, and Bel-Kassem's brother, Ouled-Kassi. Love to all.

BUGEAUD.

The Marshal opens his heart in the following letter to his confidant Gardère. He alludes to the opposition criticisms and attacks upon his plans of war and colonisation. Just at this time M. Guizot was pressing him very much to come to Paris, and defend his own views :—

*Algiers, 6th March, 1847.*

MY DEAR GARDÈRE,—I received your letter of the 21st of February in the Djebel-Dira. I was on my way to Algiers with one bad cold on the top of another, in consequence of the rain and snow I have almost always had upon me all this journey, intending to settle a quantity of things about the creation of the town of Aumale.

I went to bed as soon as I arrived, and write to you from thence. Most likely, my dear friend, I shall be at Paris by the 20th or 25th of March, if well enough. The Ministers wish me to go there; I certainly do not like it, because I am in good training for gathering the fruits of *the horrible system of war* that has been *so justly attacked* during the last campaign.

No doubt you have seen in the papers at least an extract from my report of the 1st of March, in which I announce that Ben-Salem and all the important chiefs of the western Djurjura have come to me, and that I have settled two large governments in Great Kabylia, under the name of Bach-Agalicks.

You will also have seen the reports as to the distant operations of the Médéah and Constantine columns in the Little Desert, against the tribes that have had the imprudence to espouse the cause of the great agitator, Bou-Maza. Though they were so far off, and the weather very bad, they were caught several times, and most of them have surrendered. Is not that another proof of the *powerlessness of our system of war*, and were they not *much cleverer* when they were painfully dragging themselves in great masses between Algiers, Médéah, and Milianah, and catching millions of shots going and coming back?

My wife sends her affectionate compliments to you and madame.

Adieu, my dear friend. A thousand loves.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

Three days after the Marshal wrote this letter to Gardère, he received from Paris the summary of the bill brought in for the colonisation of Algeria. In it he saw the forecast of a check to the system he had proposed, which encountered so much opposition at Paris.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD TO M. GUIZOT.

*Algiers, 9th of March, 1847.*

I have just had the summary read to me; and if I considered nothing but this explanation, the bill would seem to me to be very

weak indeed. I never saw anything more pallid, more timid, more colourless, than this speech of the War-Minister; an imperfect account of the colonisation is mixed up in it. General Lamoricière's,\* General Bedeau's, and my systems, all come in at last as accessories. It is not supported by any large considerations; it is given the smallest possible range; they apologise for it much more than they recommend it, or demonstrate its utility. It is now the Ministry's work. You would not like to make them incur a check? For myself, I only attach a patriotic interest to it; my personal interest could very easily put up with defeat. I am already rather too old for the hard work of Africa, and you know that if I care to hold the government after settling the questions of war and conquering the Arabs, it is only for the sake of putting the country, before my retirement, in the way of colonisation, so as to perpetuate our conquest, and deliver France from the great burden she carries. I am better, and hope to be able to go.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD TO M. GUIZOT.

*Algiers, 16th March, 1847.*

I write to you again from my bed of pain. Finding it necessary to be cured quickly, I begged the doctor to apply the most energetic remedies for driving off my severe complaint of the chest; revulsive ointments, blisters, purgatives, camphorated compresses, sedative waters, nothing was omitted. They made a martyr of me. My chest is one wound, and yet there is no improvement in my

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\* M. Léon Plée, a Liberal and even Republican politician, says:—‘In General Lamoricière's plan there was more to be done than colonising, there was civilisation. For this purpose the grand instrument of modern civilisation had to be called upon; the power of capital had to be invoked and applied. Speculation on a large scale had to be induced to take possession of the available lands in Algeria. No doubt, if the Government would guarantee a minimum of interest, it would immediately be in haste to secure concessions; to make these concessions valuable, speculation must have called in arms, powerful arms, and after them would come all the arts and industries of Europe. Civilisation would extend, speedily, contagious, full of off-shoots. The Arabs would be compelled to come into it, while they would always be hostile to the cold and cautious military colonisation. We repeat, this system would seduce many; but its foundation was upon an injurious question, the attracting of capital. It is not an easy thing to attract capital to any quarter. Great advantages must be offered it, and perfect security. As for the great advantages, General Lamoricière found them in large lands, granted at a low price, that, with a relatively small expenditure, would give most rich returns, and returns increasing from year to year. He promised security by the application of another system of government; this system, long ago invented by General Lamoricière, as we have seen on the establishment of the Arab offices, was the reciprocal assimilation of the two nations. Put a stop to antagonism, that was his notion of the problem to solve. He solved it by assimilation and civilisation.’

internal condition. I begin to be seriously afraid I shall not be able to go to Paris before the end of the month; and then, what should I go to do there? The decision would be made; if it is favourable, matters will probably go well; if not, I shall not be the person who could effect a change in the result.

By a private letter, I learn the commissaries' names of seven committees of the Chamber on African credits. I think the majority of them are very unfavourable. So, though the Government is very strong in all the committees, it has not endeavoured to procure the preponderance of candidates of its own choice. All this is very bad augury.

In consequence of the check he met with in Parliament, the Marshal, sick and discouraged, came to the final resolve of quitting Africa, and thus announced it to the First Minister:—

MARSHAL BUGEAUD TO M. GUIZOT.

*Algiers, 21st March, 1847.*

The War-Minister has no doubt already informed the Council of my determination to retire, in consequence of the reception that the Chamber has given to the bill for military colonies. I am sure that *in petto* you will approve of my resolution. Although you would not, in the Government, support views that are not yours, you will think that I should not be willing to apply systems of colonisation and government to Africa that are repugnant to my practical reason, and therefore to my patriotism. The condition of my health does not allow me to proceed to Paris as I intended; I am undergoing a course of remedies that require me to remain at home and quiet: then I must go to the waters. My strong constitution gives me hopes of quite recovering my health in the course of the year.

The capture of Bou-Maza, occurring in the course of April, put an end to these interminable pursuits. Colonel Saint-Arnaud's prisoner was sent to France, where he excited a curiosity, and even a kind of enthusiasm, of which he was a very unworthy hero.\*

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\* Colonel Saint-Arnaud wrote from Orléansville on the 13th of April, 'Bou-Maza is in my hands, he has been here these two hours. He is a handsome and proud young man! We stared into one another's eyes. I immediately sent the Marshal this good news, as he will be very glad of it. I await his orders to send



Then it was that Bugeaud, having determined to leave Africa, conceived the legitimate ambition of concluding his brilliant career by the complete subjugation of Kabylia. The great insurrection of

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Bou-Maza by land or by sea. You may imagine I guard him well. I have his pistols and will give them to you, and his rosary to my sister. This is a capital day, brother ; I have no time to write much more to-day.'

Again the 17th of April : 'I am now a little out of the whirlwind I have been living in for the last three days. Bou-Maza is sent off this morning to Tenès, under a strong escort, and by the Marshal's orders he will embark there for Algiers. I have sent Captain Richard with him, my director of Arab business, and my orderly officer, Roman, who also has charge of my despatches for the Marshal. Bou-Maza is no ordinary man. He has indomitable audacity, joined to a good deal of cleverness, in a frame of exaltation and fanaticism. He believed himself called to great things ; and why should he not have believed it ? He was brought up and put forward by the powerful sect of the Muley-Abdel-Kader, being one of them. He comes from the Driss family of Morocco. The Emperor of Morocco himself corresponded with him, helped him with money and gunpowder, and encouraged him in the holy war. All our chiefs, almost without exception, Sidi-Laribi at their head, furnished him with men, money, and powder. It would be unfortunate if the revelations of a court-martial were to lay bare these wounds in our African history. He found us on guard everywhere ; found my camps and my agents everywhere. At last he came to one of his supporters, the Kaïd of the Ouled-Djounes, named El Haceni, who would have worshipped him if he had been alone, but there were four of my mokrazani. This was the last blow ; he took his line at once and said, "Take me to Orléansville to Colonel Saint-Arnaud himself," adding that he wished to surrender to me, as he had fought most with me. The others obeyed. They still trembled before Bou-Maza, who kept his arms, and only laid them down before me at my order ; two pistols, loaded with eight balls. My four mokrazani were afraid of their own daring in bringing Bou-Maza. He could have made them fly with a sign. This man's influence over the Arabs is inconceivable. Bou-Maza was tired of fighting and the adventurous life he led ; he saw that his time was gone by, and that he could no longer raise populations tired of him, and daunted by us. It is a curious event, and I long to know how the Marshal takes it. The submissions of Ben-Salem and Bou-Maza are grand steps towards the pacification of Algeria.

'I have asked for several promotions or decorations for my subdivision ; it is not much for the worth of Bou-Maza. I am asking for a regiment for Canrobert, and one for Répon, a battalion for Richard, a squadron for Fleury, and crosses for other officers.'

Bou-Maza was taken to France, confined at Paris, and installed in some rich apartments in the Champs Elysées, near the hotel of the Princess Belgiojoso. He received a pension of 15,000 francs from the Government, and very soon became the fashion. But for the cruel actions that had stained his military career he would have been placed in command of a native corps in Africa. He escaped from Paris during the night of the 23rd of February, 1848, was arrested at Brest, confined in the fort of Ham, and restored to liberty by Prince Louis Napoleon, who even gave him his pension. In 1854 he finally quitted France, commanded a corps of Bashi-Bazouks in the Anatolian campaign. In the month of August, 1855, he received the rank of Colonel in the Ottoman army, and died some time afterwards.

1845-46 had revealed all the dangers presented by an independent territory fifteen leagues from the capital.

On the 6th of May, a strong column under General Bedeau left Algiers, by the new military road to Aumale our soldiers had just made. Taking up the garrison of Aumale, making the strength 8000 men, the column encamped on the 15th at Sidi-Moussa, on the banks of the Soummam. On the opposite bank lay in an amphitheatre the rich land of the Beni-Abbès, so difficult of access. Their villages commanded and flanked one another, being very close together and numerous, amid a series of difficult peaks. The most inaccessible and at the same time the largest is Azrou, crowning a bare plateau on the ridge of the chain. The attack began at daybreak on the 16th. The position of Azrou, reputed impregnable, was carried, the houses burnt, the towers that ruled the country crushed under the blows of our artillery.\*

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\* In M. Ponroy's work we find the exciting and picturesque account of this last campaign. 'However, the Kabyles were submitting everywhere. Ben-Salem, Ben-Omar, and Mokrani had come to Algiers for investiture, and to bring the horse of Ghada as a sign of submission. There were only the Djurjura mountains, and those of Sétif, at Bougie, that escaped our rule. The moment was come to put an end to the war by a last blow, delivered on the last rampart of the unsubdued tribes. The Government thought, turned, and twisted, and temporised. The Marshal made his preparations for departure, knowing well that powers who hesitate to say yes, also hesitate to say no. His plan of campaign was determined, and the victory secured.

'Two columns were to start together, one from Algiers, the other from Sétif, and meet at the gorges of Fellaye, in the defiles of the Djurjura, scouring Great Kabylia. On the 6th of May, 1847, the people of Algiers might see a column of eight thousand men starting, full of enthusiasm, led by their old Marshal, whose very presence was enough to scare the Arabs. The same day they crossed the ford of Constantine, upon the Harrach, and in six days they encamped at Hamza; on the 8th General Bedeau's seven thousand men left Sétif, and in four days were encamped at Ben-Selam.

'Ben-Salem, Mokrani, Mahi-ed-Din, our late allies, marched with our army. On the 15th the Marshal pitched his camp on the left bank of the Soummam. On the right bank lay the rich and hilly territory of the Beni-Abbès, the most un-

Next day all the chiefs of the Beni-Abbès came down from the mountains, and met in the Governor's tent, where the conditions of mercy were detailed to them. Thus in a few days was accomplished the subduing of all the mountainous territory comprised in the great triangle formed by Hamza, Sétif, and Bougie. This country was inhabited by fifty-five

subdued, and the most ardent of the Kabyles. We knew this country before; enormous rocks, flanked by villages and smiling slopes; inaccessible peaks, goat paths lost in abysses, a sky always stormy, and torrent streams.

'The famous village of Azrou could be seen afar upon the steep flank of the mountain, fortified like a citadel, and defended by two enormous loopholed towers, Mokrani called them the bull's horns. This was the culminating point, the head of the Kabyle country, and a well-kept-up fire was already bursting from these heights against our soldiers.

'This affair was, alas! to be the Marshal's last great fight, and so it was, in all respects, worthy of Isly and the Slickack.

'On the evening of the 15th the Marshal himself went to visit the advanced posts, they were bravely attacked and more bravely defended. By daybreak the column had passed the ford of the Soummam; three battalions were left as camp-guard, the infantry, without their packs, were collected at the foot of the hills.

'Then commenced one of the most splendid attacks in all our African warfare. The Kabyles, outside their towers, and making a rampart of their bodies, rained down bullets from their carbines, and lumps of granite upon their assailants. The Zouaves dashed on with the bayonet. Eight line battalions flowed over the flanks of the mountain, and covered the Zouaves' rapid ascent with their fire. Some were hit, and rolled down to the bottom; others clung to the rocks and brushwood, but the rest climbed while the Kabyle army descended from the ridges shouting fearfully.

'Then the Marshal had rockets thrown into their crowded masses, and this caused them to fall into the greatest confusion. The contingents gave way and broke. The Zouaves advanced, the skirmishers closed, four villages were carried. Our Turcos ran through the corn, spread through the village streets, climbed the rocks, and rushed in pursuit of the mountaineers, who threw themselves from the highest cliffs.

'The fight had lasted three hours, under more than 108° of sun heat, in inaccessible spots, where not a step could be made without scrambling and climbing. And yet the holy village still held out, although the Marshal was preparing to concentrate an irresistible attack upon this point. He dashed on himself, leading his men, launched the 8th battalion of the Chasseurs de Vincennes on this dangerous attack, the flank being already turned by the 3rd light, while the artillery was thundering on the Bull's horns, making the faces of them fall in fragments.

'A quarter of an hour's carnage and hand-to-hand work, a twenty minutes' pursuit, and all was over.

'Great Kabylia was overcome for ever, and this important victory, only took place a short time before the entire submission of the Algerian coast.

'Meanwhile, General Bedeau had beaten the Reboula, and the Beni-Brahim. The two columns united on the 24th.

'Marshal Bugeaud had just concluded his grand fighting Iliad, and destiny had most admirably prepared the stage for the final scene.'

tribes, owning 33,260 guns. The great valley of the Sebaou, and all the northern slopes of the Djurjura as far as the sea, then contained a still more considerable population. The fighting men of this country were estimated at more than 40,000. All this quarter having recognised French authority, the total result was the establishment of our rule, more or less directly, over mountains containing more than 70,000 armed men. This was the last act of Marshal Governor-general Bugeaud, the 'master of fortune,' as the Arabs of the plain and the mountain Kabyles called him, with their Oriental fatalism.

While we are on this campaign, we should not omit the account of a very characteristic trait we have received from a witness present. Admiral Fourichon, talking of Marshal Bugeaud one day, told us, 'No one feared responsibility less than he did. Just when the telegraphic despatch with the order of the day from Dufaure Tocqueville reached Algiers, forbidding the Marshal to go into Kabylia, he was just leaving the palace to start on his journey. His horses were at the door. He opened the paper, and not taking the trouble to go back into his own study, he stopped at the orderly-officer's room, took up a pen, and without hesitating or thinking a moment, wrote this despatch to the Minister, and sent it off at once.'

I have received your despatch. It is too late. My troops from Constantine have been on the march for forty-eight hours. Mine are already gone, and I am on my way to join them. If we succeed, the Government and France will have the honour of it. In the contrary event, the whole responsibility will fall on me: I claim it.

When this was done, the Marshal mounted his

horse, and talked with his usual cheerfulness, good humour, and wit. When his mind was made up on an important matter, and his orders had been given for the performance of it, he awaited the result with remarkable calmness and serenity. Nothing could shake him then, and in the most serious events of his life he never departed from this quietness and self-possession.

We give two letters written during the last campaign, one to his wife, the other to M. Gardère:—

MARSHAL BUGEAUD TO THE DUCHESSE D'ISLY.

*River of Bougie, eleven leagues from the town.*

*18th May, evening.*

MY LOVE,—I write you four lines, for I am very busy, and it is oppressively hot. Our business goes well, and so does my health. The events have restored my energy. I have asked General de Bar to show you my reports to the Minister; so I will not tell you what we have done. I say no more than that our troops were splendid, and that I am far from having lost their confidence. I shall bring you various jewels of the Kabyle ladies, and a carpet, that have been given to me. Our soldiers have taken a great deal of booty, and our gouns still more, because they were not fighting, and pillaged the villages that our soldiers had carried.

I have told Fourichon to leave Charles at Bougie, if he has brought him. I shall be there on the 21st or 22nd.

Send me a great deal of news, especially of Léonie and Feray. If Charles is not at Bougie, you can send him on the second journey. A thousand loves.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

This letter is the last the Marshal wrote from Africa to his friend Gardère:—

*Algiers, 29th May, 1847.*

MY DEAR GARDÈRE,—Three days ago I returned from the expedition to Great Kabylia, that has caused our grand tacticians of the Chamber and the press to make declamations. I will not give you particulars, only tell you that the results, which have surpassed my hopes, give a startling contradiction to the opponents;

as for the rest, I send you a report that will be published. I am sure, my dear friend, that you will be glad to learn that I have quite determined to apply to be relieved. Without waiting for the final decision, I start for Périgord on the 5th. I have expressed my determination so forcibly, that no doubt no attempt will be made to alter it. I shall not go to Paris, so as to avoid any attempts that might be made. I wish you would tell Odier and Lavareille of this, for I have no time to write to them. Do not forget this official bit of business.

So, my dear friend, I am going to be the countryman I was before. When you go to Bordeaux, come and see me in my hut, that is adorned with the name of castle; meanwhile, send me news of yourself and your wife. Ever thy amiable and affectionate

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

On the 30th of May the *Moniteur Algérien*, that so often had occasion to chronicle the calendar of Bugeaud the African, together with the news of the Kabyle submission, announced the Marshal's departure.

At this moment, from the frontier of Morocco to that of Tunis, from the Mediterranean to the sea of sand, French power rules uncontested over all Algeria.

The Marshal Duke d'Isly returns to France. He has appealed to the War-Minister to arrange for his relief.

His Government has lasted six years, full of facts that belong to history. The Marshal-governor will go away on the 5th of June.

On the 4th, at noon, the squadron of evolutions, under H.R.H. the Prince de Joinville, anchored in the roads of Algiers. The Marshal went to meet the Prince, and had the satisfaction, before he for ever left the soil of Africa, of greeting his glorious accomplice of Isly and Mogador.

Grief was great in Africa at the report of the Governor-general's departure.\*

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\* Colonel Saint-Arnaud writes on the 26th of May, 1847. 'The Marshal arrived at eleven, this morning, from Kabylia. The papers have told you of his fight on the 18th, and his successes in Kabylia. Now his determination is fixed.

Before the Marshal for ever left the soil of Africa. he bade farewell to the colonists, the army, and the navy, in the following proclamations:—

*Algiers, 30th May, 1847.*

COLONISTS OF ALGERIA,—Cast a glance over the proclamation I addressed you in February, 1841, when I came to Africa. You will see that I have gone far beyond the programme I had drawn out; I said that the standard of France ought to float alone over Algeria; twice has the Emir been thrust back into Morocco, and our dominion extends over the land of the Arabs from the frontier of Tunis to that of Morocco, from the sea to 120 or 130 leagues in the desert.

I said I should be an ardent coloniser. Extend your observation beyond the circle of Algiers; look at the roads, the bridges, the buildings of every kind, the weirs, the conduits of water, the villages that have arisen, and say if we have not, in the midst of an arduous war, done more for colonisation than there was any right to expect, with the small means placed at our disposal. But it is

The same boat that carries my letter, written at the end of his table, carries the announcement of his return to Paris. He goes in a few days, and will have no more of Africa, or rather of the Government that does not support him.

*'Algiers, 28th May, 1847.*

'Well, my dear brother, my few lines of the 26th have told you, in haste, of the revolution we are undergoing in Africa. Alas! there is no mistake about it; it is a real one for all, for the country, and us above all, old soldiers, who have aged and grown along with the man we shall always regret.

'Tired with striving against ministers who reject his views and desire to make other plans prevail, the Marshal retires, and this time his determination is irrevocable. He has made a noble adieu to the army; you will read his general order. We have held a council, and these are the arrangements the Marshal has determined on, and submits to the King. Bedeau or Baraguay d'Hilliers, or (and this is my advice for the good of Africa) the Duke d'Aumale, with one of those two as commander of the forces. All this is just now being discussed at Paris. The Marshal has written the noblest and most honourable letters to the minister. He complains that due regard has not been paid to his recommendations for promotion in the African army, &c., &c. The Marshal intends to embark for France on the 5th of June.

*'Algiers, 5th June, 1847.*

'MY DEAR BROTHER,—These few lines will be carried to you by the same vessel that bears our brave Marshal and the luck of Africa away to France.

'The Prince de Joinville came here yesterday with his squadron. He saw the Marshal, and I was present at the meeting; it was affectionate and cordial. The Marshal explained to the Prince the reasons that compelled him to leave his government; the Prince approved. . . . In an hour the army and everything good among the civil population will go and pay their adieus to the Marshal. A sad ceremony. I shall go and see him on board the *Caméleon*.'

security that is the greatest coloniser and governor. This security is yours, you can travel alone in every direction, as far as fifty leagues from the coast. The Arabs themselves guard the roads by posts, established every two leagues apart; these posts provide you with a safe shelter at night, and if you go to the neighbouring douar, you can find generous hospitality. The tribes themselves keep order, and it is very rare for a crime to remain unpunished. For the same reason the whole commerce of the country is open to you. The evils of war, and the small consumption of the Arabs, are the reasons why it is not larger, but it tends to increase every day through the benefits of pacification. The army works ceaselessly to open the way to colonisation, except when it is necessary to take up arms. Everywhere it aids the colonists with its arms, its protection, and its budget.

The causes of the financial and industrial crisis now especially afflicting Algiers and its suburbs, are neither military nor political; for we never were powerful enough. Our banner is respected everywhere; and security, for the present at least, surpasses our hopes. These causes arise only from exaggerated and thoughtless speculation. Such a state of things cannot last, because there is no serious or deep-seated mischief in the general situation. Some individuals may, perhaps, be victims to mad enterprises, but the balance will soon be restored, and business resume its natural state, when you will return to regular progress.

My health, and the situation caused by the opposition that my views encounter, do not permit me to take charge of your destinies any longer. I have begged the King to send me a successor, and I go to France to await his decision. But be sure I shall remain deeply attached to the work, to which for more than six years I have devoted all my powers of body and mind. I shall plead with the Government and the Chamber of Deputies in your interest, and to do it the better, I shall follow all the phases of your career with the keenest attention. You cannot have a warmer or more devoted advocate than I shall be.

By this devotion, by the services I have done you and you recognise, by the experience I have of your affairs, have I not gained a right to give you some advice on leaving you?

Your impatience—makes no doubt, but thoughtless—makes you always and in everything desire to anticipate the march of time. You would like to see everything spring up at once; as if a country exactly like France could be founded in a few years, upon a bare ground. That is the work of ages. This impatience often makes you unjust towards your Governors. You are always blaming your rulers for what can only be attributed to the difficulties of the case. You rarely measure these difficulties; you little consider the general whole of our necessities, and most of the time do not see anything but the interests that touch you most nearly.



Again, anticipating time, the most ardent among you, and certainly the most thoughtless, demand complete assimilation with France; that is to say, all its institutions, civil and political. They demand them without thinking what you are, and the place you occupy on the map of the country. You are but the fortieth part of the population we must establish to utilise the conquest and rule the Arabs, who are forty times more numerous than you are, and the territory you occupy is hardly the hundredth part of the conquered surface.

These exhibitions, you may be sure, are not without danger, as might be supposed. They distract the mind from fundamental questions of your future; they deceive the opinion of the country and the Chambers; they raise up difficulties for the Government. When you are always saying that the remedy for all the evils you experience, and the obstacles you encounter, lies in the grant of the civil and political institutions of France, is it not a declaration that if this be given you there is no need for anything else? Are not there public men, who have often written that nothing is wanted to make Algiers prosperous, but a political law in three sections?

If the people who constitute themselves your organs really understand your needs they would not use the credit the civil population ought to have in the metropolis for demanding things so illusory, that if even they were granted you they would not level any of the difficulties that press upon you. These difficulties lie in the nature of things; in the Arabs, in the climate, in the hardships that hinder the first steps of agriculture. Liberties have absolutely no power over these things.

First, then, ask the mother-country to keep up the strength of the army; to adopt a large system of civil and military colonisation; to increase the sums allowed for your most urgent public works; and finally remove from Parisian centralisation everything that can be removed without compromising ministerial responsibility. Business will be done more speedily, and the only one of the bitter complaints you are daily raising that is well founded is that arising from its delays.

These are the drawbacks that may have an influence upon your future; later on, when you have grown, when your society is settled upon a large basis, when you are rich enough to pay taxes, then will the time be come for demanding institutions in harmony with your social condition. There is nothing in this advice that ought to wound you; on the contrary, it is a proof of the great interest I feel in you. You know that for the six years and more of my government I have rather chosen to serve your interests than to flatter your passions and self-love; if I was to be less open when I leave you, my affection for you must have decreased. It is not so in any respect, and the future will show it.

This is his adieu to the army :

*Head-quarters, Algiers, 5th June, 1847.*

Officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the African army! My health and other powerful motives oblige me to request the King to give me a successor. His Majesty will not refuse me a rest that has become necessary. While awaiting his decision I am going to take advantage of a leave that has long been granted me.

I cannot part from you without feeling sincere regrets! For six years and a half you have not ceased to honour me with a confidence that made my strength and yours. It is this union between the chief and his men that makes armies capable of doing great things. You have done them. In less than three years you overcame the Arabs of the Tell, and forced their chief to take refuge in the Empire of Morocco. The Moors then came into the contest; you conquered them in three combats and a battle. Abdel-Kader returned to Algeria at the end of 1845, and raised nearly the whole country; you conquered him again. He had found support and resources in the desert; you managed to reach him there by making yourselves as active as the Arabs. You managed to strike your enemies everywhere, in the plains of the Sahara, as well as the steepest mountains of the Tell, by learning the art of living in these distant countries, where the people, in their flight, leave no resources for the conqueror. You left them no refuge, no respite; and thus you established the moral power that guards the roads, and protects colonisation without requiring your constant presence. Thus it is that you have been able to dispense with the multiplication of permanent posts, that would have pinned a great part of your strength to the spot, and rendered you incapable of completing the work of conquest.

Great Kabylia served for a refuge and hope to your foes. A permanent danger there hung over your heads. The mere report of an expedition was enough to cause the submission of the West Djurjura chain, and in three combats you overcame the fierce mountaineers of the centre, who boasted that they had never been conquered by anyone. The East will not make any more resistance.

But that which will do you no less honour in the eyes of France and the world is that, after the first steps, you comprehended that your task is plural; that fighting and conquering were not enough, and that you must also work to make use of the conquest. You have considered it a glory to know how to manage, alternately, weapons and the instruments of labour; you have built bridges and a number of military edifices; you have created villages and farms for the civil colonists; you cleared the land for farmers, who were too weak to break it up for themselves; you have made meadows, sown fields, and gathered their harvests. By these means you have shown yourselves worthy to possess a large portion of the conquered land,

and as capable of cultivating it as of making it respected by your enemies.

There are armies that have been able to inscribe more memorable battles than yours in their annals. There is not one that has had so many fights or done so much work. What you have done, soldiers, you will be able to do again for another chief than me. The country and the King expect it of you, and you will never be deaf to their call.

As for me, when I am at home my thoughts will be always turned towards you. I shall follow you in your painful marches, in your fights, in your workshops, and shall be always happy and proud of your success.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

The army was very much moved by these touching and proud adieus to the comrades of his glory and fatigues, his dear soldiers. An eye-witness lately repeated to us that few of the leaders were as beloved, as popular with the soldiers, as Father Bugeaud, and that more than one private soldier shed tears at his departure.

On the day of leaving, the following proclamation addressed to the navy was posted on the walls in Algiers :—

GENERAL ORDER TO THE NAVY.

*Head-quarters, Algiers, 5th June, 1847.*

I do not choose to depart from the soil of Africa without expressing my great gratitude to the royal navy, without again pointing out to the army and to France, the great share the sailors have taken in the accomplishment of the great task laid upon us. If generally they have been unable to join in the fight with us, they have rendered our success possible by supplying our wants of every kind, and multiplying our forces by the rapidity with which they conveyed them from one spot to another. This duty of patience and devotion they have performed with a zeal and ardour that generally are only kept up by the most striking actions of war. Once, however, when called upon to act directly in the struggle, the navy acted, as might be expected from its ancient renown, and at Tangier, and Mogador, entered upon their share of glory with the land army.

If the navy has rendered more brilliant services in other

latitudes, and at other times, it never paid any more constant, more difficult, more devoted, and more useful. The coasts of Africa were long supposed too dangerous to be frequented in winter; our steamers have proved the 'contrary by long use. They were not stopped a moment. Whenever there was a need to be supplied, they hurried up, without consulting the season, the winds, or the state of the sea. So the sailors may boast of the general sympathy of the army and the citizens of Africa, as they may feel assured of the Governor-general's high respect.

The Governor-general of Algeria,

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

With a few exceptions, the Marshals of the First Empire very seldom had great plans to think out, or long-breathed undertakings to direct. It must be acknowledged that their glory could only be likened to a ray or reflection of the brightness of Napoleon I.'s glory, who often dictated to them the very details of their operations; their work came down to bringing up their troops, and supporting them when fighting.

Bugeaud, on the contrary, alone thought out what he performed. His campaigns, his conquest of Algeria, his victories, are really his own work, conceptions that rightly belong to him, and place him incontestably in the first rank of the generals who have commanded armies. As for his lieutenants, his soul was too great, his heart too lofty, for a ray of jealousy ever to have crossed his mind.

We would not wish to cast a shade upon a figure that we have been used to love and respect; but truth compels us to say that the Marshal had more than once to suffer from the caprices, the rebellions, the unavowed hostility of one of his best lieutenants, General Lamoricière.

A comparison drawn from history has often been present to our mind; we know not if it has already been made. Would it not indeed be a strange resem-

blance to establish between two great soldiers, who both made their fame upon the soil of Africa, and both, many centuries apart, suffered the same fate, and were sacrificed to their lieutenants? Marius, is he not Bugeaud; Sylla, Lamoricière?\*

Also, in reality, like the old Marius, ill-treated and calumniated at Rome by Sylla, the idol of the people, he, the conqueror of Isly, loaded with glory and years, was more than once argued with and misunderstood in the mother country by the party of the brilliant General-deputy Lamoricière. To carry on the comparison to the end, may we not remember that it was upon the banks of the river

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\* We leave the business of describing the General-deputy's behaviour to a politician, an enthusiastic friend of General Lamoricière. The eminent Vicomte de Meaux thus expresses himself:—'When General Lamoricière threw himself into political life from the midst of camps, he did not turn his heart or his eyes from his military country. In the Chamber of Deputies it was still Algeria, its interests, its future, that he claimed to protect and serve. What good was France to get from this fine territory watered with his blood? How was European civilisation to take root there, and bear fruit? His inventive and organizing mind, alongside of the plans for war, had long ago conceived projects of organization. Soldier that he was, he did not believe that the army alone would suffice for the task that the possession of this fertile and devastated land imposed upon our country, and he desired to call in resources, and a civil population. Three deputies, incited by a patriotic curiosity about this conquest over barbarism that weapons alone could not complete, had come to visit the General in his camp; and, struck by his always brilliant and lucid conversation, had persuaded him to follow them into the ring where all systems contended, and all questions were decided. They were the illustrious and lamented Alexis de Tocqueville; the generous and faithful companion of his learned inquiries, M. Gustave de Beaumont; and another friend of liberty, who was destined to represent the Catholics of France at Rome before Lamoricière. Under the auspices of these men, who were then called Independents, and kept the title since it has become more rare and perhaps more meritorious, did General Lamoricière enter the Chamber. He took his seat by them on the 11th of October, 1846, as deputy of Saint Calais, Sarthe. Hitherto, whatever had been the remembrances of his youth, and in later years the advances made to him for the sake of his reputation, he had remained uncommitted politically. The impatience of his irritable and proud patriotism, and the inclination of a naturally liberal mind, drew him towards the opposition; and the opposition, happy to number in its ranks the hero of Constantine and Mascara, adopted his views on Algeria, as the Ministry had taken up those of the victor of Isly. He brought to parliament not only the reputation of his administration and military experience, but also the charm of language that gushed forth with eloquence from the very first day.'

Melochus, in the land of Bocchus, sovereign of Mauritania (Emperor of Morocco), that the uncatchable Jugurtha surrendered to the proud and happy Sylla. Twenty centuries later, it was on the banks of the same river Melochus, the Mouilah, that the happy Lamoricière received the submission of the Arab leader, heir and son of the Numidians, the powerful Abdel-Kader.

Most of General Bugeaud's companions in the great Algerian epic are dead. Two only among them who were in the front rank now survive, the Emir Abdel-Kader and the Duke d'Aumale. The great historic interest contained in the despatches of Marshal Bugeaud to the King's son, despatches the minutes of which we had the good fortune to find among the family papers, lately determined us to request the Prince to furnish us with some facts about his old master in the art of war and comrade in arms. The Duke d'Aumale said :—

‘The Marshal's correspondence with me is really most interesting ; his judgments, his advice, and instructions, most valuable. I do not speak of the confidential part, and his inmost overflowings, in which the King's Ministers, and sometimes the King my father,’ said the Prince with a smile, ‘were not always spared. But we all knew his devotedness and his great heart, his slight faults and his grand virtues.

‘While I was at Constantine, I received a despatch from him almost every week. When he dictated his letters they were more precise and neater than when he wrote them himself. Then he would let himself be drawn into long digressions on the precautions to take for the soldier during the heats, upon agriculture, and then abruptly finish with these words, “After all, my Prince, do as you like, I trust to you.” I ought to say that he showed great affection for me and perfect confidence, and was glad to be confidential with me. Very often severe in his judgments, he had a wonderful feeling of equity, and estimated men at their real value.

‘How many times have I heard him make comparison of his lieutenants with this action, spreading out the three fingers of his

hand. "The first," he would say, taking hold of the thumb of the other hand and shaking it during the demonstration, "the first is Changarnier, a rugged temper, disagreeable fellow, but a vigorous soldier, the strongest and best of all my generals. Then came Bedeau," and he put down the thumb, the first finger stood for the second general. "He is a man of duty and conscience, firm, and does not flinch at the fire. Then comes Lamoricière last," said he, touching the middle finger. "He is brave, indefatigable, no doubt a man for entanglements, but a doctrinaire; he is always talking, cavilling, and does not like responsibility. That is my number three.

"We have often had a crow to pluck together, Changarnier and I," added the Marshal; "but however it may be, if I like him little, I esteem him much; I call Changarnier the mountaineer. He is the only man that goes straight at the hill as I do; likes it, and makes his way up it without any circuits. The others are brave, no doubt, but they prefer the level, and multiply circuits."

'Certainly, General Changarnier's disposition was neither easy nor amiable. However,' added the Duke d'Aumale, 'the Marshal himself was sometimes absolute and harsh to his lieutenants. One day Bugeaud said to the generals all collected, I do not think he was Marshal then, "The tale of the mule is historical, you know it, gentlemen? Marshal Suchet, in Spain, always talked of a certain mule that had been fighting ten years, and been present at all the engagements, but knew not a bit more than he did the first day."

'At this surly speech Changarnier could not keep his temper, and spoke up to the Governor-general, "You treat us like brutes, general, but do you think we waited for your coming to learn fighting and to know our business?" These stormy discussions always ended by quieting down, and I more than once had to reconcile these two brave men, these two great soldiers.

'Marshal Bugeaud,' continued the Duke d'Aumale, 'was not only a brave soldier, but a wonderful tactician. He loved to talk of his campaigns, to explain and discuss his plans of attack. Thus it was that the conversation continually turned upon the war in Spain. He came from the South, told a story very well and with animation, seldom repeating himself. One of the military events that he liked best, the combination he was proudest of, even more than Isly, was what he called the battle under Milianah.\*

The information that the Duke d'Aumale was kind enough to give me about Marshal Saint-Arnaud, and his connexion with him, are no less interesting. The

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\* That on the Chélif, Vol. II. p. 12 *et seq.*

Prince had the highest opinion of this man of war, and his opinion seemed to me to be very striking by reason of its kindness and impartiality. He said :

This was one of the most remarkable men I ever knew ; an uncommonly energetic soldier, and a most delightful mind. I was really fond of him, and he showed great devotion to me. He never ceased to write to me after 1848, during our exile in England. His last letter was dated eight days before the 2nd of December, 1851. After that he remained silent. Marshal Bugeaud valued him very highly. Without his perpetual money difficulties and his want of method, Saint-Arnaud would have been a perfect man ! His death was heroic, and his correspondence will remain as a monument.

I was just telling you of Bugeaud's anxieties for colonisation, and his ruling taste for everything concerning agriculture. I remember one day at Algiers, I was breakfasting at the Government Palace with the Marshal and Colonel Saint-Arnaud. I was then commanding at Milianah. The Governor, as usual, was talking of farming and colonisation. When he heard that I had begun some considerable plantations round the camp, that I was having the vines pruned, and that we had taken up a crop of lucerne, he congratulated me with wonderful warmth, in a word he was charmed. ' You, Saint-Arnaud, would never have had a notion of doing like that. Listen to the Duke d'Aumale ; admire him at least, if you do not follow his example. See how he spends his leisure.' When we left the palace, Colonel Saint-Arnaud came to me and said, ' Ah, sir, allow me to say that you are an abominable courtier. You flatter the mania of our grand head-gardener, so as to go straight to his heart. Between ourselves, do you think that I shall let myself be caught with your vegetables and your pruned vines, or go mowing among your lucerne !'

I was still in Africa when Saint-Arnaud was made general. This appointment pleased me very much. As I told you, I have a most curious correspondence with him, and his opinions on the Republic and the men of the day would surprise many people.

It was in 1841, says the Duke d'Aumale, that I first saw Marshal Bugeaud, and had to serve under his orders. We landed almost at the same time in Algeria, he as Governor, I as commanding the 24th of the Line. He immediately sent me campaigning. The next year I returned to France, but soon again went to Africa, and stayed there nine months, without any leave. We were, indeed, always on expeditions. I was a long time on duty in 1842 and 1843 at Médéah and Milianah, where I found myself under the orders of General Changarnier, as my divisional commander. It was to him I addressed my reports in regular order, sending them at the



same time to the Governor-general. I returned to Africa in 1845 and 1846. In the month of June, 1847, the Marshal left the government. I succeeded him. You know the rest.

Among young officers of the higher ranks placed under his orders, Marshal Bugeaud had remarked three, for whom he predicted a great future ; they were Colonels Saint - Arnaud, Cousin - Montauban, and Canrobert. He had been very close to them in action ; and although they only served in secondary positions under his orders, in his private conversation he spoke of them as soldiers much above the average.

He said, Colonel Pelissier, the man of discipline, is an incomparable chief of the staff. In the execution of orders, he is an unequalled soldier. He has indomitable energy, a character of steel. Colonel Ladmirault, of no ordinary stamp, possesses great powers, and more, is an organizer. Colonel Morris, according to him, was splendid under fire, brave without compeer, distinguished for soldierly temperament. As for Yusuf, a splendid soldier ; he had great influence over the Arabs. His qualities and his origin gave him a peculiar position. General Cavaignac, an energetic man, though not knowing the Arabs well, had rather a touchy disposition, but was a soldier of duty, discipline, and rectitude.\*

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\* It would be impossible to attribute to chance the selection of the distinguished men that were grouped round Marshal Bugeaud, either as aides-de-camp or orderly officers. A contemporary, a man of judicious and independent mind, was lately kind enough to give us some most interesting information about all these humble assistants of the Marshal, who formed his military and political cabinet. The man who wrote this knows the officers whom he describes well, for he lived among them, and his opinions and judgments are very impartial.

Eynard, General Bugeaud's aide-de-camp, rough and devoted nature, rather like a bear, who gives his master a cuff to rid him of a fly. Jealous of the Marshal's attendants, and rather malignant against those whose influence he feared. Faithful, but cross-grained. Mind a little too much taken up with questions of detail.

Fourichon, lieutenant in the navy, commanding the vessel at the Governor-

general's orders, was rather a friend than a subordinate of the Marshal, who had an especial affection for him, and unlimited confidence. A clear and elevated mind, he was often the connecting link between the Marshal, Lamoricière, and Cavaignac. Now he is Admiral, and has been Minister-of-Marine.

De Garraube, son of General de Garraube, courageous, devoted, heart full of delicacy ; often a spoilt child, was much loved by the Marshal, and was a country-man of his. Left the service as colonel, and lives in Périgord.

Vergé, full of intelligence and devotion ; he knew the Arabs very well, and did the Marshal good service, though his mind was more poetic than practical. Now, the Marshal's taste, as is well known, was for positive minds. Now retired general-of-division.

L'Heureux, a charming nature ; as much heart as mind, and full of tact. No jealousy for superiorities that he would himself proclaim. Was one of the most faithful friends and most eager defenders of the Marshal, whom he unreservedly loved and admired. Died general-of-division in 1870.

Feray, a sceptical mind, excessively clever, knowing men well, and especially studying their worst side. Very attractive manners, very brilliant qualities, and noble character, loving pomp and prodigality. He pushed his devotion to his friends almost to exaggeration. Died general-of-division in 1870.

Trochu ; the Marshal had an especial liking for him. Trochu charmed his chief, and had great influence over him. His incontestable merit and high qualities were a little exaggerated by the Marshal. Trochu spoke so well, and was so favourably listened to, that he talked a little too much. A high character, but rather theatrical. As long as he lived, he never ceased to admire and revere the Marshal. Retired general-of-division.

Rivet, as devoted, as clever, as brave as Trochu, but his superior in doing more and talking less. The Marshal valued him as much as he did Trochu. Heart and mind very elevated, quite safe character. The Marshal put entire confidence in him, and when he went away recommended him to the Duke d'Aumale, whose chief of the staff he became. Died general-of-division in the Crimea.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### DEPARTURE FROM ALGIERS—D'AUMALE (1847-48).

Return Home—Events in Morocco—The Faithful Léon Roches—Curious Feat of Abdel-Kader—Letters to the Comtesse Féray—Life at La Durantie—The Duke d'Aumale made Governor of Algeria—Letters from the Marshal—Abdel-Kader's Surrender—Revolution of 1848 in Algeria—D'Aumale's Departure.

AFTER six years of struggles and triumphs, and also of vexations, Bugeaud returned to his home. His moral energy and physical strength had neither of them been exhausted by his long government of Africa ; but it must be said he returned with a chafed and wounded spirit. His determined mind and rather obstinate disposition did not understand all the necessities and sacrifices that were imposed on the Ministers, and sometimes even on the King, by conducting government under parliamentary rule. And so, without meaning it, he sometimes expressed himself with injustice towards the members of the Cabinet led by M. Guizot.

Leaving Algiers on the 5th of June, he did not go to Paris, but to Excideuil, and permanently settled himself at La Durantie. For the second time in his long career he intended to take up farming again, and resume the plough. This was, at least, his most sincere desire. He had made such a great mark in Algeria by his government as to render the task almost impossible for any successor but a son of the King ; and it is evident that he had communicated his

views on this point to the Duke d'Aumale, as there is a letter of that Prince's, thanking him.

Such a man as Bugeaud was pretty certain to inspire unshaken devotion and passionate attachments. Among the men who came in contact with him, and showed him the greatest affection and fidelity, his chief interpreter, Léon Roches, holds the first place. Thus we think it well to give the letter written to his former chief by the young diplomatist, and the Marshal's answer from La Durantie :—

M. LÉON ROCHES, SECRETARY OF LEGATION, TO MARSHAL  
BUGEAUD.

*Tangier, 12th June, 1847.*

MARSHAL,—I have just read your report, dated from the Oued-Sahel, 17th May, 1847. I am still trembling with excitement, and mad with delight. I want to write a few lines to you while I am under their influence.

I was excessively anxious all the time you were in Kabylia. I need not tell you it was not defeat or want of success that I feared for you ; but I did dread that the war would be long among the mountains, as the pride of the Kabyles and their traditions seemed as if they must compel them to defend every peak, and burn powder for ever village ; and then I will tell you, Marshal, I dreaded for you those treacherous mountain bullets, whose wind you have so often felt, close to me, and my fears are much greater when I am not by your side to share your dangers. At last, praise be to God, who has guarded your noble head, because He guards France !

You have added another ray to your crown of glory, for you have just undertaken and accomplished a work that so many illustrious men have recoiled from. You have brought a people under the dominion of France, who have for two thousand years been able to preserve their independence, and whose mountains have so often been witnesses of the defeat of those who endeavoured to conquer them.

I consider that this great work required more courage and ability in the conception than in the accomplishment. For, besides the Kabyles, you had to contend with public opinion and the Government, who disapproved of you because they thought that you would unseasonably engage France in a long and costly expedition.

But you alone reckoned upon the infallible results of your great moral success, and events have given a fresh proof of your genius. Praise be to God again !

The *Vélocé* is signalled from Oran ; no doubt we shall have news of you. I shall not go on with my letter till I have read it.

22nd. I was interrupted by some very sad intelligence, Marshal, that of your leaving Algeria. It arrived at a time when there was so much business, that I have had to wait till to-day to take up my letter, and with very different feelings. You have put in execution your long-threatened purpose of considering your peace and domestic happiness, casting down the burden that your shoulders were, perhaps, the only ones capable of bearing, but had become unsustainable because of the crying injustice of a knot of ignorant or malicious persons, who pretended to represent the country.

You are gone, and we are anxiously inquiring whose hands will have to keep the conquest with which you have dowered France.

History that only judges facts by their consequences will blame you for this unpatriotic decision ; but your friends, who have seen your trouble, who have seen how cruelly you were affected by the venom of that monster called the press ; they excuse, if they do not completely approve, your return to Excideuil.

Just as you were leaving the soil of Algeria, the Emir performed one of those bold strokes you know he is capable of. Disturbed by the hostile designs of the Kaïd-el-Ahmar, lately appointed Governor of Riff, the ex-Emir thought it wise to be first in action, and one fine night, at the head of his regular cavalry and infantry, accompanied by the Metalça, he went and surrounded the Moorish camp, as it was perfectly sound asleep and unguarded. At daybreak he made his company's drums beat a charge. The Arab auxiliaries' horses, terrified by this unusual awakening, broke their picket-ropes, and soon threw the camp into disorder. Their owners, still more frightened, took to flight, crying, *Sauve qui peut !* Abdel-Kader had only to make a sign for the camp to be eaten up. But that did not suit his policy. He sent word to the regular horse, who were arming and mounting, that they had nothing to fear, and that he only came to have a parley with the Kaïd-el-Ahmar. Bou-Hamidi then entered the camp, giving them all quarter on Abdel-Kader's behalf. He was without his gun, at the head of fifty horsemen. When he reached the Governor's tent, the negro guards fired upon Bou-Hamidi's troop ; the Kaïd-el-Ahmar himself ran out of his tent, and placing the barrel of his gun against Bou-Hamidi's side, he pulled the trigger, but the shot did not go off. The ex-Khalifa laid him dead at his feet with a pistol-shot. All the resistance ended there. The Moorish maghzen returned to Fez, and Abdel-Kader to his camp at Aghbel, among the Metalça. The Riffians pillaged the camp.

Fez is in the greatest state of excitement. The general sympathy is with Abdel-Kader; and yet our information causes us to believe that this able man will not allow himself to be led on by the infatuation of a first success, that might well take him to the gates of Fez. And this, first, because he takes into account the insurmountable difficulties that would stop him short if he encountered the least resistance, having no ammunition, no artillery, and, above all, no money; and secondly, because he must think the armed intervention of France to be inevitable. It seems he has found that the pear is not ripe enough, and that by his daring attempt upon the Moorish camp he only meant, as he said, to pull out a tooth that worried him.

The Emperor's son is making great preparations at Fez; we think his lazy father will be awakened by the news he is going to receive, and that he will act at last.

Meanwhile, the former Governor of Riff, Abdel-Sadak, has been appointed to resume his government. He is a clever man, and asks his sovereign for piastres instead of soldiers, in whom he has but little confidence, and who, with the Kaïd, Bou-Zien, undertakes to purchase all the Riff chiefs, and thus to compel the ex-Emir to leave the country, or to intern himself in Morocco.

This is about the state of affairs, and you, Marshal, may judge how much your departure will increase Abdel-Kader's audacity, and diminish the salutary fear that your name inspired in the bordering tribes of Morocco, and in the Emir himself. Among civilised people, and those who have good government, the lot of the state does not depend on the life of a single man; but in a new country like Africa, where all is disorder, where there is no authority respected but that of power, with a people conquered by the genius of one man, his presence exercises an influence over it sufficient to maintain obedience, without the perpetual employment of force. If this man dies or departs, hope revives in the minds of the conquered people, and they will not submit until a fresh exercise of force has convinced them that the yoke laid upon their necks will be always kept there by the power of the nation, whoever be the chief selected to represent it.

I repeat, Marshal, your departure was necessary for you; the duties of husband and father, no doubt, were a law to you; for African-France it may have the most melancholy consequences. It is especially inopportune, at the moment when the vital questions of our conquest are going to be considered, and perhaps new institutions are going to be given it that may constitute its weakness, while it requires strength, and always strength.

I ask you a thousand pardons for having dared to lay before you so boldly, and at such length, my way of looking at your return to France. I hope that you will be kind enough to see

nothing in my frankness but the most profound and respectful devotion.

My father-in-law, M. de Château, who has authorised me to communicate the preceding information to you, desires me to present his respects to you, and to tell you, first, how much admiration he feels at your miraculous campaign in Kabylia, and then the sorrow he shares with me at your going. For a week we have talked of nothing but this melancholy subject, and the chorus of both of us has been, but at least he can come back for a couple of months every year, and show his adored and dreaded countenance to the Arabs.

When I know you are settled at Excideuil, and a little rested from your fatigues, I hope you will send me a little news about your family ; I need not tell you how much I am interested in everything that belongs to you ; my respectful attachment must be known to you.

My wife wishes me to send the Duchess a thousand congratulations on the determination you have come to, of living for your family. She says that glory is the enemy of domestic happiness ; a man must love his country well, but should care more for his wife and children. You see I have not married a Spartan ; nor is she a poet, but she has a good sense that I value more and more every day. I hope to have the honour of presenting her to you next year if the gates of La Durantie are not closed to him who will be all his life, with the greatest respect,

Your most grateful and devoted servant.

The Marshal answered his faithful Roches as follows :

*La Durantie, 7th July, 1847.*

MY DEAR ROCHES,—I have just received your capital letter of the 12th and 22nd of June, and am going to answer it at once. The feelings you tell me of please me very much. I recognise your loving heart, warm and generous, and your devotion to my person that I have never doubted.

The great determination I have come to, that grieves you so much from the point of view of our African interests, has not, my dear Roches, been come to with a desire of at last securing a little peace of mind and body. Whatever need I might have had of rest, for the restoration of my health, whatever desire I might feel of again finding domestic happiness in the middle of my fields, my patriotism would not have hesitated to sacrifice my personal interests, even the most dear, to the general good of the country ; but other reasons make it my duty to resign my office of Governor-general of Algeria.

Be very careful not to imagine that my aim was to escape the attacks of an unjust and shameless press; do not do it the honour of thinking that its violence and abuses of all kinds have had the least influence on my resolution.

I have sent in my resignation of the office of Governor-general of Algeria, because I did not choose to make myself the responsible editor of, and the person to apply, a system of colonisation that my reason disapproves; because having had the honour to bring a vast and difficult enterprise to a good conclusion, I did not choose to become the destroyer of my own work, by lending myself to the illusions of dreamers or quacks. Twice already, you know, I have declared to the King and the Government that I would not stay in Africa, except upon condition of doing something great and useful, by laying the foundation of a stable system of colonisation. Well! You see the country, by the mouths of its deputies, has rejected my propositions; it consents to have every plan tried, except the Governor-general's, the man who could conquer the Arabs, and rule them, but does not understand colonisation.

The vote of three millions moved by the Government, for a trial of military colonisation, was my Cabinet question; the Chamber threw it out, and I have retired.

My retirement was right according to practice, to respect for myself, and to my absolute conviction of the wrong direction that is going to be followed. Inasmuch as, being Governor-general, I had no power to stop the torrent, I am going to struggle against it as a simple deputy, and perhaps my words will have more weight than in the past, when it is seen that I am entirely disinterested in the question.

My conviction as to the system that ought to be followed in colonisation is quite as firm, as was my belief in the system of warfare to be employed against the Arabs. You have seen me struggling against all the world, even the Ministers, without ever being discouraged; I made a determined resistance, and I won. I should be equally sure of winning, if I could have a trial of military colonisation, to give the country a pattern of what ought to be done for the only true solution of the problem. But the question of colonisation is not like that of war. I was able to answer my opponents in war by the most peremptory of all arguments, success; but for success in colonisation there must be money, and it is only the Chambers that can grant it. I know very well that time and the Arabs would soon have shown me to be right, but I reckon enough upon the good sense of my fellow-countrymen to hope even yet, that when they are properly informed, they will at last understand, and I intend to devote all my mind and activity to this during the next session.

Do not imagine, my dear Roches, that I am indispensable to



Algeria. Happily, I leave wise, clever, and experienced lieutenants behind me, and a whole nursery of young officers, who are the hope of the army, and the greatest security for the preservation of our conquest. If the old traditions be ever so little kept up, the military part of the question will run no risks in other hands. The Government has acted wisely in placing the temporary command in the hands of General Bedeau; he is a man on whose ability, vigour, and good sense, it is safe to depend. I am sure he will very soon raise himself to the height of the duties, and show himself worthy of the Government confidence, and they will speedily appoint him Governor-general.

I have been exceedingly interested in reading the account you give me of the event that has taken place on Abdel-Kader's side. From a note of M. de Château's to General d'Arbouville, and information sent from Djemâa Ghazaouat by General MacMahon, I had supposed it was a more general affair, and that its material consequences would be much greater; but it is very serious as it is, and our Government must be especially careful. Abdel-Kader, by acting thus, in humiliating the Emperor of Morocco by indulgence to the troops he had in his power, has acted in a most politic manner, and this mode of action may at any moment bring him in great results. However, for the moment the situation is less alarming than I had supposed at first, and I am glad the Emir has left us, as well as the Emperor of Morocco, breathing time for consideration of the matter. You will see what I think of the position by my last letter to M. de Château.

When I left Algiers, my dear Roches, I advised that the Arabs should be led to suppose my departure was only a voyage to France for rest, but that at the first sign a steamer would very soon bring me wherever my presence was necessary. Make this known upon your side also if you think it useful. In fact, it is the truth, for if the dangers became, as please God they may not, great enough for my presence to be considered necessary, you know my feelings too well not to know that I should hasten to give my personal support, but temporarily. However, let us hope this will not be indispensable.

I am always very glad to hear you are happy in your home, and I hope you may be still more so if it is possible. Tell Madame Roches that these wishes are as much applicable to her as to her husband.

You hope that next year you will come and show us Madame Roches at La Durantie, and you ask me if the gates of my castle will be shut against you. They will be open to you, my dear Roches, as wide as they can be, as our hearts are open to you. Come and see us; we shall be most glad to receive you with all hospitality and kindness.

I shall show you my fields. I am fonder of them than ever;

they grow not older but younger every day. Why is it not so with everything in this world?

Adieu, a thousand loves, go on with your good policy and write often to me. I especially hope you will keep me informed in business matters.

My wife and children send you their regards.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

We have seen that in the last year the Marshal had given his youngest daughter to one of his orderly officers, the Comte Feray, who was in garrison at Sétif, upon the Governor-general's departure. There is most charming and unreserved confidence between the father and this beloved daughter. The Marshal's affection for his two daughters was quite equal, but Madame Léonie Feray, married to a soldier, had lived her father's life more constantly and closely than Madame Gasson.

#### MARSHAL BUGEAUD TO THE COMTESSE FERAY.

DEAR GOOD LÉONIE,—I have not written to you for some time, because I have to write almost as much as at Algiers. Besides your mother, who corresponds regularly with you, has given you news of me, and told you all you care to know. I was waiting to send you my congratulations on your second epaulette. The Minister has given me hopes of it, and Madame Salvandy on two occasions almost changed it into certainty. So now I am daily expecting notice of your appointment. Need I tell you that I shall be in the third heaven, because besides seeing the advancement of our dear Henri, this promotion would bring us back two of our children who are exiled to another part of the world that must be very burning at this moment?

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The papers will have told you that I was called to the Ministry. I do not know if it has been considered in Paris, but it is quite certain that nothing at all has been said to me about it. Instead of this, I have several times been requested to keep the government of Algeria.

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Now I write to Henri. Do you know, my dear son-in-law, that I have a great complaint to make against you. What! only one little letter from you since my departure. I hear news of Africa

from General de Bar, and of you from your wife. Is that what you promised? Is that an answer to my kindress? Come, repair your fault by good long letters, full of details, without expecting perfect reciprocity. Think that I am old, and have become a perfect countryman. Country people do not care to write much, but they like to read very much . . . . on Sunday.

Have you sold my mare? As for my carriage, I hope you will sell it to my successor, *prince* or otherwise.

The report of the Duke d'Aumale's appointment gains ground very much. I know he is working every day at the ordinance for the civil government, as if he was to be the man to put it in force.

Very soon, my dear children, I shall squeeze you in my arms enough to choke you.

BUGEAUD.

The selection of the successor was made as soon as Governor-general Bugeaud had gone. The King's Government wished to give public opinion in France time to become accustomed to the idea of a vice-royalty. As to the colony under a temporary governor, it was impatiently desiring to see a prince of the blood established in the palace of Algiers and Mustapha.

The Duke d'Aumale, very clever, of mind mature beyond his age, did not conceal from himself the grave responsibilities and difficulties of the task. The following letter shows this clearly enough:—

H.R.H. THE DUKE D'AUMALE TO MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

*Villiers, 3rd August, 1847.*

MY DEAR MARSHAL,—I was always waiting to answer your former letter in hopes that I might tell you of some promotions in the African army, but the realisation of my wishes in this matter is so long delayed that I cannot wait any longer. At least I hope that my urgency will have a favourable effect for so many people in whom we both are so much interested.

You are right; it is being very much considered whether I shall be your successor, though nothing is settled yet. I have never solicited this honour, but on the contrary declined it, not from carelessness of work for France, nor the fear of exchanging a sweet and pleasant life for one full of risks and toils, but because I know

the difficulties of the work, and my inability to satisfy the country's expectations.

I have long hoped you would resume the Governor-generalship. I am convinced you could add fresh services that no one else could render to the very great ones you have already done. If every hope is gone in this respect, if no other arrangement seems acceptable to the King's Government, I will not refuse an eminent position in which I could do active service to my country. I am under no illusion as to the difficulties with which the question bristles, the attacks that will be directed against me, and the deceptions that await me; but I shall take to the performance of my duties an entire abnegation of self, and the devotion of all my time. I shall most carefully preserve the recollection of everything useful and grand I have seen you do in this African land, and shall do all I can to follow in your tracks and continue your work.

Allow me to thank you here for all the kind things you say to me in your letter. You have always shown me a sympathy that is most precious to me, and you know that I reply to it by the greatest esteem and most sincere attachment.

Your affectionate

HENRI D'ORLEANS.

P.S.—I had hoped to do the honours of Chantilly to you either this autumn or this winter, and to talk about war and farming there with you sometimes. If I am not at Paris when you go there, I hope you will do me the kindness to go and shoot some of the hares there that nibble my plantations.

We have been fortunate enough to find Marshal Bugeaud's reply to the Prince's letter. In truth, can anything be more touching than this agreement and community of ideas, this attachment that so closely united the old soldier with the young Prince, in one thought, in one object, the good and glory of France?

*La Durantie, 9th August, 1847.*

MY PRINCE,—Your admirable letter of the 3rd of August did not require any reply from me, but I could not resist my wish to express to you some of the impressions it has produced upon my mind and heart. It breathes the greatest devotion to the country and the King. You are not led away by the brilliancy of the command; you know all the rest long ago. You have estimated the difficulties, you have foreseen the criticism and even the calumny, and yet you brave even all that for the sake of serving France and obeying your father.

This noble conduct would be a criticism on mine if I had not paid my tribute for six years and a half, and especially if I had not hoped that I should better serve the interests of Algeria by retiring than by remaining at the post that had been entrusted to me. My views are already being realised, because you are destined to be my successor. You know the only reason why I have not advised this course is the fear of laying a further moral responsibility upon the monarchy. As the King's Government does not think so, I congratulate Algeria and France.

This will not be the only advantage of my retirement; my views on colonisation ought to gain credit by it. There can be no more doubt of a conviction for which I have given up the finest command in the country, and then I shall be in the Chamber to fight the false notions and hollow theories of the Dufaures, Tocquevilles, Beaumonts, and the rest, who fancy that nothing is wanted to level all obstacles but some liberal civil institutions. If there were only no Arabs in Algeria, or if they resembled the effeminate peoples of India, I should have taken very good care not to advise my country to have made a basis of colonisation with a military element by force of the budget. But the existence of this nation, so vigorous, so well prepared for war, so superior in that respect to the European masses we could introduce into the country, lays upon us the absolute necessity of establishing above it, by its side, in the middle of it, the strongest population possible, and where can that be found if not in the army?

But to leave this digression; I think in this respect you share my opinion. Let the contractors for colonisation be tried, if there are any to be found; their inability will soon be understood.

To return to your letter. I should be very glad if I might publish it and put the factious to the blush, and the blunderers who so often calumniate your noble family. As I cannot publish it, I shall read it as often as I can to my friends, and sometimes to the enemies of the dynasty raised by the Revolution of July. By it I will show them even more than by my arguments that it is perfectly legitimate, because it rests not only on the national desire, but also on its ardent patriotism, on its services, and the superiority of mind.

I am very thankful for your kind expressions as to Commandant Feray. You will soon be in a position to make him feel the good effects of it, and I am convinced you will not lose an opportunity.

But how is it that no effect has ensued upon the recommendations for rewards to the army of Africa before I left it? What is such delay to be attributed to? I confess it begins to make me indignant. Never at any time has the army of Africa been more deserving than in the period from 1846 to 1847. Not only has it been fighting, and made numerous and prolonged expeditions for the consolidation of our rule as far as the confines of the little desert, but it has also done immense works, and not left off till the end of July. All or

almost all of the infantry was in camp at its workshops all last winter, and not a murmur was heard. It seems to me that such services, such behaviour, deserved a little more haste. Is it desired that you should be the bearer of the rewards? That would allay the irritation I feel.

I have received a letter to say that the army of Africa will only have one place in the coming promotion of *maréchaux-de-camp* (generals of brigade). I should be very much disgusted. Of the three last promotions, in one the army of Africa was entirely forgotten, and had a very bad share in the others. We have seen colonels promoted in France of six or seven years' standing, who had never seen fire; and promotion is grudged to those of Africa of quite as old a standing, who have been leading a very hard and laborious life for ten or twelve years. To do justice, we ought to have four or five *maréchaux-de-camp*.

I am much obliged for the permission you give me to go and kill your hares at Chantilly. Most likely I shall not abuse it, for I shall have a great deal to do during the session. But, perhaps, I shall go two or three times in the course of the winter, if you will have the kindness to leave orders with your gamekeepers.

If you will allow me, Prince, I will send you my notions on the way to complete our conquest of Great Kabylia without any fresh occupation, and only by the moral force already acquired by our expeditions of this year, and those that it seems to me still necessary to make.

I need not tell you, my Prince, that I make the most ardent prayers for your success in the fine task you so nobly undertake. You say you wish to march upon my tracks; I should wish you to enlarge them, and should be very glad if you were to do better than I have; and I would not be the last to proclaim it.

Receive, my Prince, the assurance of my respect and devotion.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

In a letter to Madame Feray the Marshal tells his beloved daughter of the Duke d'Aumale's probable appointment, of the occurrences in France, and his thoughts for the future.

*La Durantie, 3rd September, 1847.*

Thank you very much for your letter of the 8th, my dear Bellonie, though it has given me a great deal of trouble to 'grub it up.' Could not you manage to write a little more legibly, at least for your father? Your writing is like the foot-marks of a scared fly and may be very fashionable; but fashion is not always considerate.

You delay my delight, you mingle it with impatience; I should like to be always calm with you.

You want me to write to you many and long letters, because you think I have no more business now I am not Governor. Undeceive yourself. I never was worked more actively. My house is never empty. Not only do they make me write unceasingly, but they nibble at my time and my provisions. A man is really unhappy if he has a little influence, or at least is supposed to have. So do not mind, my love, if I do not write very often to you. And yet I should do so, through everything, if your mother and sister did not write to you nearly every mail.

It is quite settled that the Duke d'Aumale is to be my successor. I look upon this as good luck for Algeria, for the army, and for you, my dear children, for I am on the best of terms with the Prince. This secures your Henri's promotion, and a more speedy return to your home. Anyhow, in one way or another, you must come in the month of May next. Your mother could not bear a longer separation; she would go and see you, and you know a sea-voyage does not suit her health.

We are beginning to be pretty well settled in our castle. Our surroundings are becoming pretty. When I came I immediately made a flower-garden, that is now charming. Our harvest is good. Marie and her son are well, and so is your mother. My bad heel is getting well, so we have nothing to wish for but the presence of our dear children in Africa.

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What a dreadful crime is that of M. de Praslin!\* We are all saddened and terrified. What a cruel period we are going through!

The ministry seems as if it would encounter another session; this is bold, for the position is bad; public spirit is every day being perverted by the declamations of the press, dwelling upon unfortunate facts, with their import much exaggerated by party spirit. Some men of the dynastic opposition do not shrink from stirring up the people's passions by their acts and speeches. Such are Duvergier de Hauranne, Odilon Barrot, Malleville, &c., &c.

Adieu, my children. I bear you in my heart; I am always praying for you.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

A few days afterwards, the 11th of September, 1847, the *Moniteur Universel* contained the appointment of the Duke d'Aumale as Governor-general of Algeria in succession to the Marshal Duke d'Isly.

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\* Cruel murder of his wife.

On the 5th of October the Prince arrived in the roads of Algiers on board the *Labrador*, and landed among enthusiastic and unanimous shouts of 'Vive la Roi! Vive le Duc d'Aumale!'

The notion of a Viceroyalty in Algeria, and the selection of a Prince of the blood was not new to Marshal Bugeaud. In fact as long ago as the 23rd of October, 1843, he wrote to M. Blanqui, the deputy:

I should be glad for a Prince to be my successor here; not in the interest of the constitutional monarchy, but of the question, that things will be given him that would be refused to me. The Duke d'Aumale is, and will be still more every day, a capable man. I hope I shall leave him the work in good train; but for a long time there will be a great deal more to do; it is a work of giants and ages.

In the course of the year 1845 he wrote to his friend M. Guizot:

As to the Duke d'Aumale's Government, the only inconvenience I see in it is for the monarchy: it will be a responsibility the more to undertake. The young Prince is capable, and his experience is growing fast. I expect that from the beginning he will be an administrator, and will become a very distinguished soldier; in this point he will only want a little more experience and thought.

While the King of France's son was making his glorious beginning in Africa as Viceroy-governor, Marshal Bugeaud, in the retirement of his home at La Durantie, was setting himself in, and trying to establish his children there by the purchase of a property near his own. His letters to his son-in-law and daughter show how carefully he attends to their interests, and neglects no particulars:—

*La Durantie, 19th October, 1847.*

MY DEAR FERAY,—I think I wrote to you at Algiers on the 6th to tell you that I have bought Linty for you, at the price of 120,000



francs, and to ask for your power of attorney to complete the contract. . . . It seems to me impossible that you should not be able to get a long-enough leave to visit your family: the condition of Algeria allows it. So you must come and spend some time with us, to see your nice property, and we will study together the plans of improvement that I am making to increase the revenue from 8 to 10,000 francs. Do not be afraid of the expense; I hope not to ask for a sou out of your pocket. The wood to sell, not clearing, but improving, will cover the repairs, with the gradual increase of cattle.

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The *Moniteur Algérien* of the 23rd of December says, 'The long-expected solution is at last accomplished. Abdel-Kader has surrendered at the French camp. The same day he was presented to H.R.H. the Governor-general by Lieutenant-general Lamoricière.'

This time the King's son writes to his former chief from Algiers, the seat of his government. A letter, dated a few days before the Revolution of February, once more shows the attachment and reciprocal esteem that drew these two soldiers together. What joy, what an honour it was for the young general to be able to relate to his old master in the art of war the outcome of their long campaigns, their bloody struggles, the immense result at last obtained by the surrender of Abdel-Kader! The chief care of Marshal Bugeaud's successor is to inform the first conqueror of Algeria. He does not forget to tell him that his name is in every mouth, and that Algeria become French still reckons upon his devotion for her defence in Parliament.

H.R.H. THE DUKE D'AUMALE TO MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

*Algiers, the 2nd of January, 1848.*

MY DEAR MARSHAL,—The events in Morocco, and the political life of Abdel-Kader, have had the conclusion that you prophesied in

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your last letter, and I had not dared to hope. As soon as this great event was accomplished your name was in every heart. Everyone remembered with gratitude that it is you who put an end to the contest, that it is the excellent direction you gave the war, and all Algerian affairs, that has ruined Abdel-Kader morally and materially. May one of your old and modest lieutenants be allowed to offer you on the occasion of the new year his personal good wishes, and those of the whole army you so gloriously led for seven years. We are confidently expecting the result of the parliamentary discussions that will take place concerning the affairs of Algeria. I am rejoiced to know that you will take part in them, and I have no doubt that you will throw a great light upon the situation, and the needs of the country still so little known.

Receive, my dear Marshal, the expression of the high respect and sincere friendship with which I am,

Your affectionate,

H. D'ORLEANS.

Marshal Bugeaud answered him:—

*Paris, 15th January, 1848.*

MY PRINCE,—I was sure beforehand that you would think as you write to me about the fall of Abdel-Kader. Your mind is too just not to appreciate the real causes of this event, and your soul too lofty not to do justice to everyone. Like all men capable of doing great things, you only want your share of the glory, and at need would yield a little of it to others. In this matter, my Prince, you have done me great honour; but you are still more honoured. If your letter could be published it would double the respect, great as it now is, that the country and the army bear to you. Not being able to publish it I have it read as much as possible, and several persons have taken copies of it, notably two ministers; they all admired as much as I did the noble feelings that dictated it.

I am afraid they will want to reduce the army too much; this would be imprudent, militarily and politically; it would also be against general economy and the speedy utilisation of the conquest. The end of the Emir is not a complete security for tranquillity; the Arabs remain, and though weakened their revolts are still to be expected; they will not endure the cruel revolution we bring upon them without often making resistance, and men will be found ready to serve their discontent. The troops are not wanted only for restraining them, but also to forward great public works, and in this way are less expensive than in France, as being able to produce more than they cost. There would be no economy in withdrawing troops from Africa, unless they were disbanded. Now, considering the

fermenting state of Europe, I do not think that the French army can be reduced.

Some letters say that a fort is being established at Hamza. I can hardly believe it. You would not like to increase your permanent posts if your strength is reduced; you would rather do away with some. I always say that Lalla Magrhnia should be done away with, and Temouchent, and Ain-Moussa upon the Oued Riou. I presume that there was some need for a temporary occupation of Hamza; and thence arose a report of the establishment of a permanent post, that I think would be more than useless, it would be injurious.

Accept, my Prince, the assurance of my respect and devotion.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

The meeting of the Chambers, and politics, took the lord of La Durantie back to Paris. The following letter to Colonel Feray, written a short time before the sad revolution of February, shows us the Marshal perfectly reconciled to the King and his Ministers, if any coolness had ever existed in the intercourse between the Government and the late Governor-general of Algiers. In fact, his name was mentioned with praise in the address, and the Chamber elected him vice-president.

TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL FERAY.

*Paris, 5th January, 1848.*

MY DEAR FERAY, — It is a long time since I wrote to you, but my wife was always writing to you or Léonie, and so you were kept informed. Then the trouble of the move to Paris, and the business the Deputy-marshal had to do on reaching the capital, the opening of the Chambers, the new year's day visits, &c., &c. At last I am a little freed from these absorbing preliminaries, and seize the chance for a talk with you.

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I was very well spoken of in the speech from the Crown; and my reception by the Chambers was no less favourable, as they made me vice-president for the present session.

I am not so well pleased with an article in the *Débats* of the 3rd, on Abdel-Kader's surrender. Read it, to see how newspapers write history, and with what justice and fairness they distribute their

praise. Everybody has done almost as much as I did to produce this great result, even Berthezène by his defeat,\* and others by their inability to advance the conquest one step. Tell me what you and the army think of this.

I often see the Salvandy family, and like them better every day. Just now they are all at Paris.

Opinion is pronouncing strongly against sending Abdel-Kader to Egypt or Syria. The Ministry will have a majority, but the situation is very difficult. There are so many questions moving at home and abroad.

Your mother embraces you, and highly approves what I say about Léonie's voyage. Adieu. I embrace you with all my heart.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

The progress of events now brings us to the fatal epoch for France, the 24th of February, 1848, the date of the foolish revolution, that flung France into an era of events and humiliations, from which she is not yet delivered.

The people of Algeria were struck dumb with astonishment at the fall of King Louis-Philippe. The Duke d'Aumale, after arranging temporarily for the government, was joined by his brother, the Prince de Joinville, who had himself given up the command of his squadron. They left Algiers on the 3rd of March, 1848.

An eye-witness lately gave us an account of this dramatic scene. 'It was one of the greatest griefs, the most heart-rending sights I ever saw in my life. The day they went away, I remember, the rain was falling in torrents. The square and the landing quays were perfectly crowded. When the Duke d'Aumale appeared with his people, and the Prince and Princess de Joinville, there was an outburst of tears, and shouts of despair. The Arabs flung

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\* In 1831.—Ed.

themselves at his feet ; all of us wanted to keep him ; the officers and soldiers wept like children, while the Princesses sobbed as they went down into their boat filled with flowers, a last remembrance, last homage. Alas ! we all felt that with the Prince departed the soul of old France. Ah ! if our young chief had consented to remain, if he had said one word, or made one gesture, the whole army and Algeria would have risen. What would have happened in France then ?'

The Duke d'Aumale's last proclamations may be interesting :—

INHABITANTS OF ALGERIA,—Faithful to my duties as citizen and soldier, I have remained at my post as long as I thought my presence useful to the service of the country.

This is no longer the case. General Cavaignac is appointed Governor-general of Algeria. Until he reaches Algiers, the duties of temporary governor will be performed by General Changarnier.

Submitting to the national will, I depart ; but in exile all my prayers will be for your prosperity, and the glory of France, whom I should have been glad to serve for a longer period.

HENRI D'ORLÉANS.

*Algiers, 3rd March, 1848.*

True copy.

Colonel, second in command of the general staff.

L. de Crény.

#### GENERAL ORDERS.

*Head-quarters, Algiers, 3rd March, 1848.*

General Changarnier will temporarily perform the duties of Governor-general until the arrival of General Cavaignac, appointed Governor-general of Algeria.

As I leave an army that is the pattern of honour and bravery, in whose ranks I have passed the fairest days of my life, I can only wish it fresh success. Perhaps a new career is opening to its valour ; I firmly believe it will be executed with glory.

Officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, I had hoped to fight again with you for our country. This honour has been

refused me ; but in my banishment my heart will follow you everywhere that the will of the nation may send you ; it will glory in your success ; all its prayers will always be for the glory and happiness of France.

HENRI D'ORLEANS.

A true copy.

Colonel, second in command of the general staff.

L. de Crény.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### ARAB OFFICES.—SOLDIERS.—COLONISATION.

Administration of the Arabs—The Marshal's Kindness to the Natives—His great Care for the Private Soldier—Father Bugeaud's Cap—Regulations—Arab Offices—Bugeaud's Principles of Colonisation—Trappists of Staouëli—The Jesuits.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD's military fame rests on an unshaken basis, and his grand soldierly figure now holds a large place in the history of Algeria and of France. But what is not sufficiently known, is that Marshal Bugeaud, as far as lay in human power, employed the little leisure left him by military expeditions, and the command of an army of a hundred thousand men, in administration properly so called. Without going into particulars, it is useful to remember the productive impulse he gave to works that in seven years changed the face of Algeria. He it was who contrived, with equal kindness and firmness, according to his famous motto, '*Ense et aratro*,' to unite for the same object those two instruments of conquest and civilisation, the spade and the sword. It is to him that France owes those gigantic works, those splendid roads the Romans would have been proud of. It would be very interesting to give, or at least to analyse, his numerous decrees, reports, and circulars, going into all parts of the service, and showing unwearied care for the men whom he was sent to govern, without distinction of race, at the same time displaying

a rare spirit of organization and of practical application.

A great many of Bugeaud's circulars relate to the government of the natives, a delicate and serious matter, so difficult of solution, and still the subject of passionate controversy, although his successors have made many attempts at solution.

As for himself, he attended to the government of the Arabs with quite paternal care, and was far from treating the conquered nation with the contempt, arrogance, and cruelty, too often adopted on principle, and systematically, by certain African generals, and especially by the pretended Liberals and Republicans of the colony. His instructions to his generals show this constant care.

'It is not enough to make a good selection of Arab authorities ; they must still be looked after, be directed, their instruction cared for, so as to form them by degrees ; at the same time they must be treated with consideration, so as to keep up their dignity, and make them respected by their clients.' So much for the authorities.

'The simple Arabs must be treated kindly, equitably, and mercifully. Their complaints and claims must be heard, and carefully examined, so as to do them justice if there are grounds, and to punish them if they have wrongly complained.'

Bugeaud attached especial importance, as he said, to giving the natives a government suitable to their manners, that should make them prefer our rule to the Emir's. Equitable conduct was sufficient for this purpose. The principle of recompenses was maintained, but the application of it was so arranged,



that each one had to pay or receive what was actually due.

In his circular of the 2nd January, 1844, he maintains the responsibility and union of the tribes. At the same time he shows on what conditions this grand principle would be especially efficacious. He unites the chief's responsibility to that of the tribe.

'The authorities, who enjoy the advantages and privileges of power, must, more than any others, be careful to preserve order, and repress robbery.'

Possibly, when the Marshal was speaking to the Arabs, he rather too much felt as if he was speaking to the people of Périgord, to the peasants of La Durantie. He forgot, alas! that the Arabs, a conquered race, looked upon us, and not without some reason, as oppressors. Anyway, his intentions were upright and noble.

How often history is unjust. To most people, Marshal Bugeaud passed for a fierce man, almost brutal. We have seen his extreme care for the natives and his soldiers; but that is not all. There is one anecdote among many that gives a capital picture of the great soldier's character, the man of hasty manners and rugged exterior, concealing a soul full of delicacy and ingenuousness.

The scene was in tents on the Moorish frontier: the Marshal's secretaries and aides-de-camp were in a camp close to the Governor's. One day the Marshal called to one of his aides-de-camp: 'What are Rivet, Roches, and Trochu, about just now? Send me one of them, I want one; are they very busy?' The officer answered, 'I think not, sir, they are reading out Lamartine's new book, *Jocelyn*.' 'Oh!' said the

Marshal, and walked into his secretaries' tent. 'A fine occupation indeed, gentlemen!' warming as he spoke; 'have you such a lot of leisure, so many hours to get through, that you can read the dreams of visionaries? Ah! for the poets and the poet-deputies, who meddle with politics. I really thought you had more sense.' And there was the Marshal, storming against poets, and despising all rhymers, as useless people and nuisances. The young officers tried in vain to defend the author of the *Harmonies*, they were beaten. However, in the evening, seeing all was peace, one of the staff-officers resumed the conversation, and tried to persuade the Marshal. 'Come,' said he, 'what was it so interesting that you were reading when I interrupted you?' One of the young officers answered, 'The poem of *Jocelyn*, one of Lamartine's finest pieces.' M. Roches added, 'If the Marshal would allow me to quote one passage to him from the book, perhaps he would forgive us for not being of his opinion.' 'Well, do it,' said the Marshal, growling.

M. Roches began to declaim the master's harmonious verse. When he had finished the first page, all at once the Marshal cried out, 'Give it me,' and catching the book from his interpreter's hands, there was the old soldier, with his superb and ringing voice, reading over the passage and following the dramatic and touching account of 'the death of the mother of *Jocelyn*.'

Gradually, in spite of himself, overcome by the seductive charm of the poet, and penetrated with the subject, his feelings were visibly getting the better of the unexpected orator, till his throat choked in the utterance. Great tears obscured his eyes, and the

Marshal threw down the book and said, with a smile, 'It is too much now, here am I crying like you.'

M. Roches afterwards told the story to M. de Lamartine, and he said it was the greatest praise his poems ever had.

In order to make Marshal Bugeaud's feelings, towards the Arab population he had to govern as well as to subdue, properly understood, we take the following extract from the *Moniteur Algérien* :—

The Governor-general has information that Europeans continually ill-treat\* the Arabs, who are moving in our streets and roads. This is not generous, and unworthy of our manners. Great political inconvenience may also result from it. An Arab, struck or contemptuously treated, carries the anger he feels back to his tribe and makes them share it. The Governor-general hopes that calling attention to this point will be enough to make the population of all our towns more gentle towards a people whom we wish to govern justly, so as to assimilate them.

But if there are any persons who remain deaf to this appeal, the Governor informs them that he has everywhere given orders to the public forces, both police and army, immediately to arrest any person who may strike or ill-use a native. An information will be immediately drawn up, and the person handed over to the police for punishment. 29th July, 1843.

\* On a rainy morning in the month of March, 1844, the Governor-general was shaving in his study; he heard a noise in the street, and looking out saw a Maltese brutally striking an Arab. Not stopping to put on a coat, the Marshal, with his soapy face and bare arms, ran down, turned out his guard, had the Maltese arrested and given in charge of the police.

That evening all the civil and military officers were sent for to the Government Palace, and the Marshal told them, 'I was witness this morning of such an event as unhappily too often takes place. A European was beating a native; for the honour of our nation he was not a Frenchman. You will easily understand, gentlemen, how impolitic and cowardly is such an act. Impolitic because it keeps up the feelings of hatred that must, at any cost, be made to disappear. If an Arab is struck in our towns he restrains his anger and revenge; but these repressed feelings explode with violence in the country, and our unlucky soldiers suffer for them. I say more, it is cowardly, for a man does not strike a conquered man and a prostrate enemy. For all these reasons I order all officers and authorities to immediately arrest, and take to the nearest guard-room, any person who shall strike any native, and I am giving orders to the public officers for the severe punishment of the guilty.'

A circular was issued in consequence, and being translated into Arabic, made its way among the tribes, who were delighted, and most thankful to the author of so just and kind a measure.

The note we next give, taken from the official organ, shows that he went into every particular, and how persistently he pursued the notions that seemed right to him.

#### NOTICE TO THE ARABS.

As the poor Arabs are often exposed to the disloyal trickeries of some unscrupulous Europeans, without defence, and often have their rights and properties injured, for want of an educated representative of their interests, a remedy is arranged for this wrong by the Governor-general's care; a counsel of the bar of Algiers is specially instructed to argue all these sort of cases gratuitously, under the title of Arab's advocate. And for this purpose he receives monthly pay from the Government.\*

As late as March 1847, there was a circular to the generals enjoining consideration for the Arabs, as the real way of consolidating the conquest was by mingling them with the French population.

Bugeaud's care for the soldier remains in story.

\* The true colonist is always distinguished by his good relations with the natives. M. Desclozeaux, former Prefect of Constantine, told us that in 1873 he had established two villages near Milah, very near one another. The first was peopled by Greek emigrants from the Corsican village of Cargèse, the second with old Algerians, great people to discourse on religion and politics, most of whom made haste to let their grants to the Arabs, and open shops, so as to solve the difficult problem of living and doing nothing.

The Prefect was most cordially received in the Corsican Cargèse. The colonists, belonging to an exceptionally laborious race, were content with their lot. They were charmed to show their crop stored, and their land was carefully cultivated and sown. They were congratulating themselves on their good intelligence with the neighbouring douar; a few days before they had invited the Arabs to one of their feasts, had made them share in their dance and banquet. The Arabs of this douar mixed in the village like friends, and joined in the Corsicans' reception of the Prefect. Next day M. Desclozeaux visited the second village, the asylum of the Free-thinkers, the village with all the shops. There he was besieged with the outcries of the colonists. Not one of them had land enough, the Arabs near were all thieves and robbers, the Government had deserted them, &c., &c.

When the Prefect quoted the pattern of their Cargésian neighbours, pleased with everything, having had a fine harvest, and done great works, he was interrupted. 'They are Bonapartists,' growled a colonist, in a voice broken by absinthe; and the others chimed in. As soon as the Prefect left this village, the Arabs of the douar were waiting for him, ran to meet his horses, and showed the greatest grief. 'We are your sons, you are our father,' said they; 'protect us against these colonists, who put us to ransom, rob us, lay waste our gardens,' &c.

How many anecdotes have we heard about this. It must be said that the officers often looked with some displeasure at the Marshal Governor-general being so very minute in his care of the private. In fact, few of them carried their care to such a pitch. And yet, it is thanks to this paternal kindness, this humanity, and love for the private, that the great man was enabled to accomplish his marvellous marches, and make his soldiers bear untold fatigues, the very name of which would have revolted them, if the order had been given by any other chief.

The higher officers, says Marshal Saint-Arnaud, somewhere in his letters, thought he had not quite the dignity or reserve desirable.\* It is true that the Marshal took but little pains to please his staff. The well-doing, the life of the smallest private, had such a hold upon his heart, that for his good he was quite ready to neglect the supposed dignity of command, and never hesitated to do acts that offended these higher officers. Thus, an old general officer

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\* It was not only the natives and privates who had free access to the Marshal, the colonists had the same, and met with an easy and kind reception, that too often, alas ! is not met with from subordinates in office, and especially when republicans.

M. Charles Bocher, once an aide-de-camp to Marshal Canrobert, lately wrote as follows to a journalist, one of his friends :—

‘Just as discussion is going on, with no possibility of decision, whether the Government of Algeria ought to be civil or military, allow me to tell you an anecdote that I had from an officer of the African army in the old times, when I had the honour of being a member of it, under the glorious and beneficent military rule of Marshal Bugeaud. A colonist, who had some claim on the government, one day came to head-quarters at Algiers to make his complaint. The Marshal himself received him with most paternal kindness, as he did all soldiers and colonists. He listened to the application and then said, “But, my friend, this is no business of mine, go and see Count Guyot, the civil director of the colony.” “Ah, Marshal,” answered the colonist, showing his dress, “how can I go and speak to M. Guizot in the bad state you see !”

So here was a poor colonist, without interest, not afraid to approach the illustrious Marshal, Duke d’Isly, the pacifier of Algiers, yet ashamed to speak to a man holding a much inferior position to that of the military governor.

told me, that he had seen the Marshal get off his horse upon a march and help a muleteer who could not get his sacks back in place when the pack-saddle had turned.

Sometimes, he would go unexpectedly to the rear-guard, take the soldiers one by one, admonish them well and then encourage them. When he had told them not to fire blindly in masses, he would post them himself in the thickets. At other times, when the out-lying pickets and advanced sentries had to be posted, he would go himself with the officer on duty. Another eye-witness has told us, 'I have seen him myself, at nightfall take the trouble to shift the sentries' posts so as to deceive the Arabs' keenness. In fact, without these precautions, so often neglected by our officers, the Arabs would creep up in the dark and make sure of killing our poor soldiers.

The Duke d'Aumale says, in his justly popular book, *The Zouaves and the Chasseurs à-pied*, 'One night, one only night, the watchfulness of the Zouaves was at fault. The Emir's soldiers slipped between their posts, and made a murderous discharge into the camp. For a moment the fire was so sharp that our men, in their surprise, hesitated about getting up. The officers had to set them an example. Marshal Bugeaud came with the first; he caught two men with his strong hands and they fell struck dead.

Order was very soon established, the Zouaves rushed in and drove off the enemy. When the fight was over, the Marshal saw by the light of the camp-fires that everybody laughed as they looked at him. He put his hand to his head, and found his

head was covered like that of Beranger's king of Yvetot. He asked for his cap, and a thousand voices repeated, 'The cap, the Marshal's cap.' Now this cap was a little peculiar and the soldiers had already noticed it. Next day when the bugles were sounding march, the Zouave battalion accompanied them singing in chorus,—

‘ Have you seen the cap ?  
Have you seen the cap  
Of father Bugeaud ? ’ \*

Afterwards the bugle call to march was never known by any name but 'The Casquette,' and the Marshal who liked to tell the story, often told the bugler of the picket, 'Sound the Casquette.'

Sometimes when the men were tired with a long march, he would have the favourite tune played. The men would understand, begin to sing the Casquette, very often accompanied by the General-in-chief.†

Again, the General would go alone to a column, and giving a sudden order through the major for the men to undress, he would pitilessly punish all the men not wearing the regulation flannel belt. These small medical details, no doubt, made our general officers shrug their shoulders; and yet the Commander-in-chief's prodigious activity kept

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\* ‘ As-tu vu  
La casquette,  
La casquette ?  
As-tu vu  
La casquette  
Du père Bugeaud !

† In 1881 M. Aimé-Giron, in an article on 'Some Military Blunders,' published in the *Figaro* after every complaint repeated, as if it was a remembrance never to be lost, 'Have you seen the Casquette ?' Alas ! to-day will the French bugles and hearts be always calling to all the echoes in vain for Father Bugeaud's Casquette.

them awake, and they often understood the indirect lessons given them by their old Marshal.

Another time he would look to the sentries ; neglecting no detail. His constant care was to preserve his soldiers' health, watch over their comfort, and avoid useless fatigues for them. The Duke d'Aumale told us lately, ' he had the secret of obtaining obedience without murmurs.\*' Any general but he would never have dared to expect, still less to obtain, from the troops what Marshal Bugeaud thought it quite natural to require, and obtained the performance of.

There is a general order dated from Oued Tirouet, that no doubt was much better received by the infantry soldiers than by the officers:—

The Governor-general has observed that, contrary to regulations, and orders several times given, many company officers have saddle-horses in the ranks. This abuse must be immediately put a stop to. Infantry officers must not lose sight of the fact that the surest method of obtaining from their men the self-denial and energy required to endure toilsome marches, under a burning sun, is to set the example of going on foot, like them.

There is no reason to be surprised that the higher officers often were in a fume against the

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\* One night the Marshal was walking about the camp, as he often did, and heard a dispute between two Zouaves. One said, 'What a dog's life ! I have been wet through three days, and not a chance to dry myself ; if only we had a little bread and a drop of brandy there would still be a chance to sing "Mère Gcdichon." But there is nothing at all, and, into the bargain, those rascally Arabs, whom we cannot catch to pay off our ill-humour on their backs.' An old soldier answered, 'Conscript, you have no business to grumble. If you had been, as I was yesterday, on duty at "*the Casquette's*" tent, you would put away your complaints ! Marshal of France and Duke that he is—listen, conscript—I saw him with my own eyes, all alone, making no complaint, as he gnawed at a bit of biscuit, and drank a cup of water after it. When God has nothing, what do you expect the saints can have ?' The squad cried out, 'The old one is right. Shut up, conscript ! Down with the conscript !' When the Marshal told this little story he said he felt as pleased as he had ever done in his life.



Governor, while the privates adored him when the army had such an order of the day as this before them :—

*Camp Ain Kebira, 20th January, 1846.*

The Governor, Marshal of France, is informed that several commanders of corps have allowed themselves to divert mules intended for the special service of the ambulance canteens to private use. An abuse so prejudicial to the good of the service must immediately be put a stop to.

All commandants of columns are, therefore, required whenever they leave a victualling-post, to ascertain that every battalion is provided with its ambulance mule, with its canteens completely furnished with medicines, lint, &c.

Any commanding officer who acts in contravention to the present order will be severely admonished to observe the regulation, and his name will be published in general orders of the army as not being careful of the most important thing of all ; the health of the men of whom he is placed in charge.

One of the Marshal's greatest cares was the administrative organization of the Arabs. The conquest would be completed by placing the native territory in charge of officers, who should establish a military administration after having subdued the Arabs. The officers chosen as administrators were to be able to speak Arabic, to try causes, to stifle the germs of insurrection at its birth, and lead the warriors to fight.

To set against some officers of bad character, and two or three robber generals, whom the riches of Sallust must hinder from sleeping, what an interminable list there is of officers brave and faithful under every trial furnished by the Arab offices. How many of them were martyrs to duty, killed at their posts, among the Arab tribes, at the moment of risings foretold by them, and generally brought on by the ignorance or evil passions of French politicians or Algerian Radicals.

The office for Arab business was abolished in 1839, and restored by a decree of General Bugeaud, dated August 17, 1841.

It is easy to see that the establishment of the Arab offices was nothing but the administration of the country by the officers who had just conquered it. The colonist arriving at an early period of the occupation, or even coming later, desiring to penetrate into the interior, and leave the coast towns, thus found the country governed by the military. Contests often began from the first day, arising from the colonist coming with the fixed idea of making the most out of the conquered race.

The most usual pretensions of some colonists were directed to these points, that their native neighbours should without pay cultivate the land given gratuitously by the Government; that the natives should be compelled to labour on promise of a fixed payment; then either this payment be altogether refused, or less given than the settled price. Other colonists, and they were the most, wanted the Arabs' property and merchandise without paying for it at all.

These people just landed, who would have liked to renew on the Arabs the famous exactions of the Spaniards and Portuguese from the Indians of the New World, found themselves confronted by a simple sub-lieutenant, attached to the Arab office. Generally he was a picked officer, selected from his regiment for his good education, high views, and good breeding, to exercise the authority; and the duty of this representative of mercy and civilisation was to reduce the colonist to better notions; he had to work, and not make others work; he had to keep his word, and not take other

people's property ; he must not think he was in the New World, or had to do with Indians. France was there, with her civilisation and justice, represented by an officer : a modest one certainly, but energetic, and disposed to make the conquered respected. Thus it was that the officer of the Arab office, the foe of yesterday, to-morrow became the natural protector of the native, and, it must be said, his best friend. As the number of colonists increased, their pretensions took another shape ; they were purified, but became no less dangerous to the Arab. They renounced openly the right of making the most of the Arabs, their neighbours ; but they contrived another programme, and resolved to take the natives' lands by the right of conquest. In this new way the colonists again found their road blocked by the Arab offices, who undertook the protection of the natives' property. The colonists clothed their claims in a thousand different shapes, some of which were very clever, so as to endeavour to obtain their acceptance. At the bottom, they only coveted one thing, to take the Arabs' land. They got a number of allies, notably almost all the Algerian press, by a certain apparent moderation. At different times their requirements were, that the Arabs should be pushed back into the Sahara ; that they should be quartered in a portion of the Tell ; that the property of insurgent tribes should be sequestered ; lastly, their expropriation with a larger or smaller indemnity.

The Arab offices protected the property of the natives against these unwholesome appetites, appealing to justice, and respect for promises solemnly made on the taking of the country, also to the fear of a general rising, and they were supported by the Conservative governments of the capital.

There is not one of Marshal Bugeaud's principles, either in war or in colonisation, that has not at least the great advantages of clearness, precision, and practicability over the plans of his adversaries or detractors.

The army is everything in Africa, said he. It alone has destroyed, it alone can rebuild. It alone has conquered the soil, it alone will make it productive by cultivation, and can prepare it for the reception of a large civil population by great public works. In order to the performance of this double task, only two things are necessary, to keep up its strength to the present numbers, and to preserve the military rule now flourishing in Africa. His last point is the most important. As the army is everything in Africa, nothing is possible there but military power.

Thus, to Bugeaud's mind the reduction of the army in Africa, and a change from the military rule, was not only to annul the good effects of the war, but also to stifle the germs of colonisation.

His first practical attempts at colonisation go back to the year 1842. He founded three villages near Algiers, and having no farmers at command, he filled them with soldiers. One, Fouka, was filled with time-expired men; Mered and Mâelmâ with men who still had three years to serve.

His plan of colonisation, that might have been crowned with as great success as his system of war, if he had put it in force, consisted in selecting soldiers, who had already served two or three years, marrying them, and making a military establishment of them in villages they had built. They would be legally compelled to serve the country for five years more; at the end of that time, free. How

many of these men, married, settled, become land owners, living on the soil, would have broken the agreement? The idea was great, simple, and productive. The Marshal had carefully prepared all the calculations, all the accounts, and asked for sixty millions in ten years. How many millions have been squandered since, and thrown to the winds with the successive attempts and chimerical plans patronised by the Government?

Every village with its own life, with a service organization, and a chief to lead it, and the men, soldiers at need, workers without stint, would become wonderful colonists, occupying the Tell, that is to say, the best lands. Surely to meet the Arab cultivator of the land, always armed, the Marshal's idea of a soldier-farmer was suggestive and practical.

Marshal Bugeaud's plan was military colonisation. The contrary system of private colonisation, assisted and protected, was much approved in the Chambers. MM. Dufaure, Bignon, de Barante, de Tocqueville, and especially MM. de Beaumont and de Lamoricière, stubbornly and systematically opposed the Marshal's views.

In the course of the year 1843, after a good deal of negotiation between the French Government and the General-superior of La Trappe, the religious colony of Trappist fathers was sent to Algiers. The founders had to choose between three concessions, in different places. The domains of Mouzaïa and Arba were then almost in the enemy's territory, and also too far from Algiers. Staouëli was selected. The community of Staouëli was registered as a civil society, and contained forty-five monks. At first Bugeaud, always full of his plan of military colonisa-

tion by means of married soldiers, had not liked the notion of introducing these celibate colonists. However, as soon as the Trappist fathers arrived, he spoke out at once, declaring that they were welcome, and he would help them as much as he could. The Commanding-officer of Engineers was ordered to supply them with everything required to put up their workshops at cost price from the contractors, and six sappers and a serjeant were sent to set the work going, while a detachment of military convicts was placed at their disposal. Marshal Bugeaud laid the first stone upon a bed of bullets, picked up on the battle-field of Staouëli. In all his campaigns, the Marshal thought of God, and never failed to give thanks for his success by an offering to Staouëli.

It was not the Trappists alone who received help and protection from Marshal Bugeaud in Algeria. Another religious order, the Jesuits, found a warm and able patron in him ; and there was a letter published by him in the *Journal des Débats* in June, 1843, full of the most conclusive arguments in favour of these much-calumniated priests, though he begins by saying he is neither Jesuit nor bigot.

## CHAPTER XV.

### REVOLUTION OF 1848—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The Days of February, 1848—State of Minds in France—The Marshal's Deeds—Sent to Command the Troops—King's Abdication—Bugeaud's Resistance—Lamartine's Account and Castilla's—Republic Proclaimed—Return to La Durantie—Demagogues in the Country—Tales of a Hut—Common Labour—Correspondence with Roches and Trochu—15th of May.

WE need not dwell upon those ever-inauspicious days of the month of February, 1848, fatal days that assumed, it must be said, a character of expiation. There was accomplished in Paris the most inopportune, the most useless, the most foolish revolution that has ever overturned France. The fearful consequences of this disastrous folly still weigh heavily upon France; and when we think of these disorders, we cannot prevent ourselves from cursing, with our whole soul, those who were the authors and accomplices in them.

The first days of the year 1848 found France not disturbed, but remarkably divided. The attacks upon the Ministry went beyond all limits; the aim acknowledged by the opposition was long past, and the attacks reached the throne. The Conservative party, victorious in all the elections, in supporting the King and the Ministry, adopted a pride and bitterness they made no attempt to conceal. The opposition, on their side, even the dynastic opposition, attacked the Government with extreme passion; and did not recoil from any method, any compromise, for fighting and weakening their political adversaries.

The opposition journals poured abuse upon the King, the royal family, and all defenders of the established order of things. To listen to these irreconcilables, there was no honour, virtue, or patriotism, except in the ranks of an intolerant and systematic opposition.

They were kind enough in joke to allow the King to be—a good father and husband, but represented him as a greedy miser without a conscience, who was robbing the crown domains, and making sad cuttings in the forests. According to the opposition, he was a lawless and faithless man, a hypocrite full of duplicity, selling France to the foreigner, following the policy of peace at any price.

This is the aspect, only much mitigated, under which the members of the opposition daily, in their writings, speeches, and newspapers, held up to France the wise King who ruled her.

And yet France was prosperous and glorious; never had Government been able to make the people more prosperous or safer. Never had Government more scrupulously respected liberty or individual rights.

The royal family presented to France and Europe an example of all the virtues. The Queen and her daughters were the most accomplished and virtuous of women; the princes were rivals in patriotism and military virtue.

What madness was it that affected a party in France, and made them dare to overturn the throne of the most paternal of sovereigns? Why this unloosing of violence and hatred against one of the best and most honest governments France has ever possessed?



The criminal folly that France committed the day she overthrew King Louis-Philippe she has been expiating ever since. The cruel expiation commenced immediately. Our country, just before so rich, began to encounter difficulties and pains from the first miserable days of the first revolution.\*

Marshal Bugeaud, more than any other Conservative deputy, was exposed to the unjust and malicious

\* Louis-Philippe prided himself on having destroyed the good understanding between public men of eminence, having made them eager rivals and jealous enemies by the allurements of office, and on having founded on the destruction of parliamentary leagues his personal system. His grand merit was no doubt in having so long maintained the peace of the world. But peace was more than once maintained at the expense of the dignity of France in her relations with other courts. This timid policy suited the position and temporising character of the man, and for a time found favour with the middle classes, on whose support the monarchy mainly relied.

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Louis-Philippe did not himself rise much above the level of this class, a class which he did not seek to elevate, or to inspire with better instincts than the desire to get rich, and to get rich speedily. On the foundation of this universal selfishness there arose an organized system of corruption and cupidity, which sapped and undermined public and private virtue.

The great and fatal mistake of the King was in attempting to govern as well as to reign, to be not only the King, but the Minister of France. At home, as well as abroad, this led to a system purely personal, and the honour of the country and its great interests were sacrificed to considerations purely dynastic.

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The personal character of the monarch had much influence on the politicians round him. It had the effect of rendering public men more servile, insincere, and dishonest.

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No man so much encouraged and sustained M. Guizot in resistance to reform as the King himself, but at the decisive moment, when it was necessary to show resolution and energy, the spirit of the King faltered, and his cause was lost. To do his Minister justice, M. Guizot never faltered or failed to the end.—*Encyclopædia Britannica, Eighth Edition, Art. France.*

A letter from the Prince de Joinville to the Duke de Nemours, dated 7th November, 1847, found among documents left behind, says, 'There are, in fact, no Ministers; their responsibility is as nothing. Everything proceeds from the King. He is now of an age when he will listen to no observations whatever. Our position is not good. After seventeen years of peace, the state of our finances is not brilliant. . . . We come before the Chamber detestably as to home affairs; as to foreign, our position is not better. All this is the work of the King alone; the result of the old age of a King who wishes to govern, but who wants the energy to take a manly resolution. . . . All this is traceable to the King alone, who has tampered with our constitutional institutions. I look upon all this as very serious.—*Ibid.*

attacks of the opposition ; and the grand citizen, who had given Algeria to France, and brought victory back to our standards, found himself despised and almost suspected. He, whose lofty person should have been one of the strongest supports of the throne, had been attacked with so much perfidy and falsehood that he was almost degraded in popular estimation. In short, all the political quacks who talked of succouring the throne, and gathering up M. Guizot's inheritance, rejected the Marshal's support as compromising and unpopular.

As for him, strong in his conscience and in duty done, he was at Paris, modestly fulfilling his duty as deputy when the Revolution broke out.

The following letter, written to one of his colleagues, M. Léonce de Lavergne, gives a most circumstantial account of the part he had to play during those ever-to-be-regretted days. This letter was written in the month of October, just at the time of the Presidential elections, and was to be communicated to the personages who had a notion at that time of putting up Marshal Bugeaud as a candidate against General Cavaignac :—

MARSHAL BUGEAUD TO M. LÉONCE DE LAVERGNE.

*La Durantie, 19th October, 1848.*

MY DEAR FORMER COLLEAGUE,—It was at two o'clock in the morning of the 24th of February that one of the King's aides-de-camp came to summon me to the Palace. I went there as quickly as I could, and was offered the command of the troops and of the National Guard. I quite understood that it was too late, but thought it would be unworthy of me to refuse. The late Ministers, Guizot and Duchatel, were sent for to countersign the decrees appointing me. All this took a great deal too much time, and it was not till half-past three in the morning that I was able to place myself in communication with the troops that were in the Place Carrousel and the court of the Tuileries. I made them a speech that

was certainly energetic. It has been very inaccurately reported by some of the newspapers.

The troops were very much demoralised ; they had been kept for sixty hours in a timid and even disgraceful attitude before the mob, their feet in the mud, their packs on their backs, quietly allowing the insurgents to attack the Municipal Guards, burn the guard-rooms, cut down trees, break the lamps, and make speeches to the soldiers.

The only food they had received was three rations of biscuit, all eaten up long ago. Generally they had but ten rounds a man, and the best-provided battalions had not more than twenty. There were only three waggons of small-arm ammunition in the Place du Carrousel ; there were none at all at the École Militaire, nor anywhere else in Paris.

The only store was at Vincennes, and that was only thirteen waggons. This was the only reserve, and to bring it up, a way would have had to be made through the whole mob and thousands of barricades. The horses of the cavalry were exhausted, and had no corn. The men had been kept in their saddles almost all the time.

All the troops detached to the Bastille, to the Hôtel de Ville, on the Boulevards, at the Panthéon, had orders to retire upon the Tuileries at daybreak. I sent them orders as quickly as possible to stand firm upon their posts, telling them that as soon as day dawned columns would be sent to join them, and we should proceed to offensive operations.

I spent the rest of the night in arranging my columns, and lost no opportunity of raising the confidence of those about me. This had some success. I saw a gradual clearing of the faces that had been very melancholy, following on the measures I was taking, and the orders I was giving. I had about me at least a hundred and fifty officers of the general staff of the army and of the National Guard ; a whole crowd of generals came to offer their services. There were too many of them ; every one wanted to attract my attention, and make profession to me ; they made me lose precious time. Add to all of this, that hundreds of bits of news were brought me at once, and hundreds of orders asked for.

I required information about the National Guard. Jacqueminot was in bed very ill. He was found in a little room up four pair of stairs. He came in a very bad humour, and offered his resignation. I told him, ' There is no question of that ; tell me the arrangements made with the National Guard.' I could get nothing out of him.

The commander of the division was almost as dumb, and the only person I could get information from was his chief of the staff, Colonel Rollin, who showed himself to be a brave and clever man. At last, at daybreak, half-past five in the morning, four columns started from the Place du Carrousel, animated with a good spirit,

but ill-provided with ammunition for a long struggle. The chiefs of these columns, and a good number of the officers in them, had received hasty instructions from me as to the way to attack barricades and compact masses, break into houses, &c., &c. There was confidence in all faces, and as I thought the war well begun, I had no doubt that fighting would begin immediately.

One of the columns went to the Hôtel de Ville by the Palais Royal, the Bank, along the rues Montmartre-Poissonnière, Saint Denis, Saint Martin, &c. The second went to the Bastille by the rue Richelieu, the Bourse, the end of the rue Montmartre, and the Boulevards. The third was to move right and left behind the two first, so as to prevent barricades being raised behind them. The fourth went to the Panthéon to strengthen General Rénaud, who was to take command of the whole, and had my instructions. Gendarmes in plain clothes went with the columns, to bring me back their reports. Reserve columns were arranged in the Place du Carrousel, under General Rulhière's orders. At seven I had formal reports that my columns had reached the points named without encountering any resistance. The barricades had not been defended, and had been thrown down enough to allow of the passage of artillery.

The column of the Boulevards alone had not gone to the Bastille, because it had met an immense mob upon the boulevard Montmartre. The general commanding sent to me, 'I am in front of an enormous crowd, but badly armed. They are not offensive, and shout, "Up with Reform! Up with the Line! Down with Guizot!" What must I do?' I answered, 'Summon them to break up, and if they do not obey, employ force, and act as I have told you in my instructions.' I afterwards was informed that my orders had not been executed, and that this general had behaved with great weakness.

About half past seven, a large number of very well-dressed townspeople, from various points where the rising was, came to me with tears in their eyes, and begged me to withdraw the troops, as they irritated the people, and to leave the duty of putting down the disturbance to the National Guard, who were assembling. I endeavoured to make them see all the danger there was in the advice they gave, when MM. Thiers and Barrot came and brought me an order from the King to withdraw the troops, and only make use of the National Guards, though I had only seen two or three little knots of them yet in the Place du Carrousel. At first I resisted the Ministers as I had the townspeople,\* but when the Duke de Nemours

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\* About a year after the Republic was proclaimed, one evening at a reception in an official salon, the very manufacturer of the quartier du Sentier, who on the 24th of February had met the Duke d'Isly, the Duke de Nemours, and M. Thiers at

came and repeated the order to me from the King, I thought it my duty no longer to bear such a responsibility. I set a dozen staff officers round a table, and I dictated the order of retreat to them in nearly this language :

‘ By order of the King and his Ministers, you are to retire upon the Tuileries. Make your retreat in an imposing attitude, and if you are attacked, turn, take the offensive, and act in accordance with my instructions of the morning.’

This order was carried to the different points by the staff officers of the National Guard and the civilians, who officially undertook the work with a zeal that promised no good. It was this fatal proceeding that ruined everything. And see upon how little hang the greatest events in this world ! If the barricades had been defended in the morning, and fighting begun, things would have turned out quite differently.

I forgot to tell you that when I had made all my military dispositions, I neglected no means in my power for informing the people of the appointment of M.M. Thiers and Barrot. More than two hundred manuscript copies of a short proclamation had been taken into the streets by police agents, civilians, and soldiers in plain clothes. In some places the news was well received, in others the posters were torn down and trodden under foot.

About nine o'clock, M. Thiers and M. Barrot came back to me and presented M. de Lamoricière to me, who had just been appointed commander of the National Guard. I received him cordially, forgetting my former causes of complaint. He had found a citizen general's uniform. I lost no time in sending him into the streets, and told him, ‘ As we are not to fight, make use of your popularity, to try and reduce these mad crowds to reason.’

I must say he did his duty very faithfully. He was successful in some spots, in others he was ill-received and in danger.

M. Thiers and M. Barrot proposed to get on horseback and go and make speeches to the multitude, when the painter, Vernet, came to me, and said, ‘ Stop M. Thiers, I have just come through the insurrection ; I found them furious with him, I am sure they would cut him into mincemeat.’

I stopped M. Thiers, though he objected, and M. Barrot alone

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the Tuileries, and by his entreaties had extracted the recall of the Marshal's orders from the Prince and the President of the Council. Bugeaud went straight to him, and taking him by the arm, said, ‘ I recognise you, sir ; you did us a great deal of harm. I ought not to have listened to you, but to have driven you away, and deaf to the lamentations of your Paris people, and your National Guard, defended my king in the Tuileries, and fired grape upon you all without mercy. Louis-Philippe would still be on the throne, and you would, this moment, be applauding me to the skies. But how could it be ? I was harassed and made giddy by a heap of cowards and courtiers. And they had made me as great a fool as they were.’

appeared before the people. He was received much as M. de Lamoricière had been. In half-an-hour he came back, and told me, 'M. Thiers is no longer possible, and I not much more so.' Then he ran to the Palace. I saw nothing more of the Ministers. Lamoricière came a little later; he was not without hopes that the rising would quiet down. By this time it was ten in the morning. Two battalions of the 10th Legion, under Colonel Lemercier, marched into the Place du Carrousel. This was good luck; I hastened to meet them, and made a speech to them. They cheered me, but with it came cries of 'Up with Reform! down with Guizot!' The King came out and reviewed the two battalions; he was pretty well received. I expected he would remain on horseback, and show himself to the troops and the people, when, to my great regret, I saw him go back into the court, dismount, and re-enter the Palace.

Then I put myself at the head of the two battalions of National Guards, and I had them posted at the mouths of all the streets that open into the Rue de Rivoli. Barricades were being constructed there; I managed to get them given up with the weapon of persuasion only, and the presence of the National Guard.

Several townsmen came officiously to tell me that I was running great risk, and should probably be killed. I paid no attention to them, and continued my work as long as I had a section of the National Guard to post.

I confess I returned to the Place du Carrousel with a kind of confidence that if we remained steady around the Palace, and a certain amount of the National Guard assembled, the rising might subside peaceably, when the masses were informed of the change of Ministry there was a warranty of reform. I have since thought that this slight hope was, on my part, great folly under the circumstances; for I had long known that the enemy is not discouraged by retreating, nor tumultuous masses by concessions.

Another circumstance came to increase my delusion. I was told that a strong column was coming from the direction of the Palais Royal to present a petition to the King. General de Lamoricière was with me. I sent him to try to stop this column, and tell them to send their petition by three delegates.

He went very willingly, but soon came back and told me that they did not choose to hear him, and were coming on. I hastened to meet the crowd, but I only came up with them just as they reached that detached house that the Comte de Jaubert called a 'skittle-pin.\*' The column stopped when I spoke. I made a speech

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\* This house, known by the name of the Hôtel de Nantes, was a large five-storied house, that stood detached in the middle of the Place du Carrousel all the time of the monarchy. They did not venture to pull it down because of a slab commemorating the death of citizen Farcy, a pupil of the Polytechnic School, killed

to them that was both energetic and pathetic. My success is proved by their running up to me holding out their hands. Only one man in the uniform of the National Guard asked me :

‘ You are Marshal Bugeaud ? ’

‘ Yes, I am. ’

‘ You had our brothers killed in the rue Transnonnain ? ’

‘ That is a lie ! ’ I told him ; ‘ I was not there at all. ’

He made a movement with his musket. I closed with him to master his weapon ; but the men round him stopped his mouth and began to shout, ‘ Vive, Marshal Bugeaud ! Honour to military glory ! ’ I had with me Major Trochu, Colonel Sercey, and the artillery captain Fabar.

When I had shaken hands a thousand times, I persuaded this column to go back, and a great many of the men promised they would go home and try to keep things quiet.

In a few moments I heard some musket-shots from the Palais Royal and the Louvre. I did not know we had a detachment there. By this time it was eleven or half past. I had no time to look at my watch. I ran to the battalion of the 5th Light, and told them :

‘ As they begin the war we take it up. I am going to march at your head. ’

At this moment two of the King’s aides-de-camp came to tell me that his Majesty was abdicating in favour of the Comte de Paris, that a regency was just going to be proclaimed, and Marshal Gérard given the command of the troops.

I told the battalion to go on alone past the Louvre, and, not choosing to believe such an extraordinary tale, I hastened to the Palace to hear about it myself. I found the King writing his abdication in the middle of an immense crowd urging him to finish it. I opposed it with all my power ; I said it was too late, and would have no effect at all but to complete the demoralisation of the troops ; that the firing might be heard, and there was nothing to do now but to fight. The Queen energetically supported me. The King rose before he had finished his writing, but the Duke de Montpensier and several other people cried out that he had promised, and must keep his word. These speeches were supported by a great outcry, and my voice was drowned.\*

The King resumed his writing. I kept on hearing the shots. I ran into the court to go and fight with the first troops that had a

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on the spot, 29th of July, 1830. The Republican committees every year carried wreaths to the Hôtel de Nantes. The house was pulled down in 1852 by Napoleon III.

\* M. de Lamartine’s account in his *History of the Revolution of 1848*, Book III. :—‘ At this moment, blow upon blow, information came to Marshal Bugeaud that the King had cancelled his appointment, and conferred it on Marshal Gérard.

mind to it. My horse was at the door, I was mounting it, and I was calling upon all the spectators to follow me. Just at this moment, M. Crémieux came out of the Palace and caught me by the

He had obeyed this order with vexation, and hastened to the King, to represent to him the danger of abdicating when defeated. As he entered the Tuileries he was informed of the abdication, and he hurried to the Cabinet, as we have seen. He was by the King's side, who was sitting at a table with a pen in his hand, slowly writing his abdication, with special attention to the handwriting, in capital letters, that seemed to convey the majesty of the royal hand to the paper. The Ministers of the evening before, of the night, and of the day, the courtiers, the officers, the Princes, the Princesses, the children of the royal family, filled the apartments with a crowd, with agitated groups, with confusion, with dialogues, with chatterings. The faces bore the expression of terror that precipitates resolutions, and breaks the will. This was one of the supreme moments when hearts show themselves in their nakedness, when the masks of rank, title, and dynasty fall from faces, and allow nature to be seen, often degraded by fear. The sound of the firing outside the court of the Louvre was audible above the noise in the room. The Marshal's practised ear detected the whistling of one ball, as it flew up towards the roof. The Marshal did not tell those about him of the ill-omened meaning of this sound. The palace of the King might have become a field of battle. In his eyes, this was the moment to fight and not to capitulate.

"What! sire," said he to the King, "they dare to advise you to capitulate in the middle of a fight? Do they not know that they are advising you to worse than ruin—to disgrace? Abdication in peace, and with freedom of deliberation, is sometimes the salvation of a country and the wisdom of a King. Abdication under fire always looks like weakness; and, more," added he, "this weakness, which your enemies will translate into cowardice, would be useless at this moment. The fighting has begun; there is no means of proclaiming this abdication to the numerous masses that are rising; a word from the advanced posts would not stop their impulse. Restore order, and then take counsel."

"Well," said the King, rising as he spoke, and pressing the Marshal's hands with a loving grasp, "you forbid me then to abdicate?"

"Yes, sire," answered the brave soldier, with respectful energy; "I dare to advise you not to yield, at this moment at least, to a counsel that will save nothing and may lose all."

The King appeared radiant with joy at seeing his feelings shared and confirmed by his General's firm and martial language. "Marshal," he said, much affected and in a tone of supplication, "forgive me for having broken your sword in your hands by taking away your command and giving it to Gérard; he was more popular than you!"

"Sire," answered Bugeaud, "if he but save your Majesty, I grudge him none of your confidence."

The King did not return to the table, and seemed to give up the notion of abdication. The groups of councillors seemed struck with consternation. They adhered to this notion, some of them as their own saving, some as the saving of royalty, some of them perhaps through secret ambitions. At least, all of them saw in it one of those solutions that make a diversion at critical moments, and relieve the mind from the weight of long uncertainty.

The Duke de Montpensier, the King's son, who seemed more than anyone else influenced by impatience for a conclusion, came close to his father and endeavoured to persuade him to sit down again and sign. The Queen alone, in this tumult and contagion of timid counsels, preserved the greatness, the coolness, and the resolution of the wife and mother of kings. After joining with Marshal Bugeaud in



leg, calling out, 'Do not go, Marshal, you will get yourself killed to no purpose. All is over.' I got away from M. Crémieux, and I hurried to the Place du Carrousel, quite determined to take the offensive. But with grief and astonishment, I saw that all the troops had broken off by sections right and left, and were leaving the Place du Carrousel by all the exits. I suppose that whilst I was gone to the Palace, Marshal Gérard had given them orders to go back to barracks.

I could not stop this combined movement; the heads of the columns were already on the quays or in the streets. I held up my hands to heaven and went on escorted by only one officer, the artillery captain Fabar. I went along the waterside quay. When I came to the house of the Chamber of Deputies, I found the place deserted, and the gates shut, no sentries, no caretakers, no person at all. I had thought that the Chamber was not sitting because I had seen several Deputies at the Tuileries and about it. But I was going to find out, when a band of rioters coming down the Quai d'Orsay began to shout 'Down with Marshal Bugeaud!' I went to them and said, 'Do you know what you are saying? You shout "Down with the conqueror of Abdel-Kader! Down with the man who can lead us to victory over the Germans and Russians." Before a month is out, very likely you will want my experience and courage!' These words altered their notions towards me, and they shouted, 'Long live Marshal Bugeaud!' while all the lot of them wanted to shake my hand. At the opening of the Rue de l'Université, I met another band, and the same scene was repeated. These two diversions made me lose sight of the Chamber of Deputies. However, I remembered that the Palace was unguarded, but thought that Marshal Gérard, who was in command, and could dispose of five or six thousand men, who were in the Place de la Concorde, would provide for it. So I went home to take off my uniform as quickly as I could, and hurry to the Chamber. Some generals came and made me lose half-an-hour.

When I reached the square of the Palais Bourbon, I saw the

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opposing the notion of a precipitate abdication, she yielded to the pressure of the crowd; she retired into the recess of a window, and looked back at the King, with indignation on her lips, and great tears in her eyes.

'The King handed his abdication to the Ministers, and joined the Queen in the recess. He was no longer King, but no one had legal authority to take possession of the kingdom. Already the people were not marching to fight against the King, but against royalty. In a word, it was too soon and too late.

'Marshal Bugeaud again respectfully pointed this out to the King before his departure. "I know, Marshal," said the King; "but I do not choose that blood should be shed any more for my sake." The King was personally brave, and so the expression was not an excuse to cover his flight nor a cowardice. This sentence may console the exile, and make history kind. "What God approves, men have no right to scorn."

Deputies coming out of the Palace quite terrified and with astonishing faces. Those who could speak told me, 'All is over, a Republic is to be proclaimed.' I went to a detachment of the 10th Legion, who had piled arms in the square, and seemed to have no notion of what was going on, and said to them, 'Do you choose to have a Republic?' 'No, *sacrebleu!* we will not have it.' 'Well, come into the chamber to protect the Regent, and have the Regency proclaimed.'

There were about 150 men under a young chef-de-bataillon; they unpiled arms slowly. At this moment, Oudinot came out of the court to find the National Guards. He made a speech to them with a warmth and animation that gained him my respect. I shook him warmly by the hand: we went into the court, and I took an Invalid's musket. It was too late, a dozen Deputies were running out, and told us, 'All is over! The Duchess is going to the Invalides by the Presidency Gardens; the Republic is proclaimed.'

The National Guards stopped; there was nothing to do, we were not strong enough to restore matters.

Thus fell this monarchy, having given France seventeen years of peace and prosperity. History contains nothing more shameful and deplorable.\*

\* 'At six in the evening,' says a republican writer, whose sincerity and independence cannot be disputed, M. Hippolyte Castille, in his *History of the Second Republic*, 'after the firing in the boulevard des Capucines, it was still possible to have saved the July monarchy. To do this, it would have been necessary immediately to decree a state of siege, not to appoint ministers; give orders to all the troops for a speedy and crushing initiative, and let Marshal Bugeaud act. Power is not kept up by negotiating. In a similar situation Louis Bonaparte set an example that any Government may profit by, monarchies or republics, who think they ought to resist insurrections.'

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'Marshal Bugeaud's powerlessness did not come from want of energy or uncontested military ability. Coupled to a ministry of conciliation, that had obtained the King's permission to stop the firing, it was literally impossible for him to act. The King, naturally indisposed to effective measures, opposed the Marshal, who had been indiscreet enough in his plans to show him Paris swimming with blood. The city was cut up with barricades in every direction, communication became almost impossible, officers with orders only arrived after immense delay, or did not arrive at all. Portions of the troops were obeying previous orders when the plans had long been changed. Others supposed they were still under the command of the Duke de Nemours, when, for several hours, they had been under Marshal Bugeaud. The Generals, better informed, saw that there could be no serious repression with a ministry of conciliation.'

'Now in these extreme crises, every officer, civil or military, thinks of the future. The feeling for keeping their places plainly mingling with that of fidelity to the Government, they fear to act when the master hesitates; and if the opposition seems likely to win the day, they do not care to make it irreconcilably hostile. The causes of the army's inaction must be sought for in these simple human causes, in the enormous waste of time, and the discussions of the night.'

I had promised you a succinct narrative according to what I saw. I have not kept my word, and, though I have omitted a quantity of particulars and incidents, I have been very long, and I hope you will not complain of it.

You will quite understand, my dear colleague, that this account must not in any case be published. The most you can do is to allow a few friends to read it, but not take copies. I have not told the whole truth, but I have told nothing that is not quite accurate, and attested by thousands of witnesses.

I have had the most positive information, by several letters from officers of the army, and of the National Guard, that far from having fallen in the opinion of those who saw me under these cruel circumstances, I have risen.

An unheard-of concurrence of events paralysed me. I could make no use of my experience, and the military ability nature has given me. As I said at the beginning, I only had the shadow of a command; the Ministers, the King, the Princes, the townspeople, all hindered me. How much did I wish, at the time, for the Court and the Government to be at Vincennes. But, above all things, it would have been necessary for me to be in command of the troops for a fortnight before, so as to identify them with my mode of action, and furnish them in every respect, with all things requisite for such a struggle. In this respect, everything had been neglected, against my repeated official advice. There was no plan for various actions for fighting, for the retreat of the Government. There was no instruction given to the troops as to how they were to act; the quantity of ammunition was ridiculous. No stores of food at the principal points within the city, no tools for breaking open doors or cutting holes in houses; nothing in fact that showed the smallest foresight. Nothing at all had been done but to give the different corps a route for going to the chief spots to be occupied. This itinerary had been prepared, revised, and added to as long ago as 1834.\*

This was all that the geniuses could invent, who had to guard the destinies of the monarchy! When I wished to call the attention of the Ministers, and of M. Guizot himself, to this dangerous want of caution, they listened to me with a distracted and tired air, and I

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\* M. Thiers, alone among the members of the new ministry, showed any energy or decision at the beginning of the crisis. He advised the King at once to go to St. Cloud, collect his troops there, and make an offensive return to Paris. The Marshal approved of this plan. Unhappily, the fatal party of abdication prevailed. And so those two grand advisers of the crown, M. Guizot, the personification of authority, and M. Thiers, the personification of true liberty, foundered beneath a miserable rising, organized by the National, to obtain a simple electoral reform.

saw it written in their sneering smile that they thought I was jealous of those in command, and was making a bid for it. They did not understand all the devotion there was in my exhortations. Adieu, my dear colleague ; heartily yours,

MARSHAL BUGEAUD D'ISLY.

After the terrible pain and deep sorrow of these days, the Marshal, feeling himself useless and suspected, went back to La Durantie. The following notes, communicated by his daughter the Comtesse Feray, give some precious information of his life at this time :—

After the fall of the monarchy, my father, in great sorrow, returned to La Durantie, whither my mother and I had preceded him.

The new Government had deprived the Marshal of his aides-de-camp, and arranged for supervision round the house. Receptions of every kind awaited him. The evil-disposed of the surrounding communes, excited by emissaries sent from Paris, met together to make an attack upon the house, and arrest the family. A large band, composed of men and women, armed with guns, pitchforks, and scythes, marched upon La Durantie. These wretches had been made to believe that the King had entrusted to my father a sum of thirty millions in five-franc pieces ; that this sum had been brought down in his carriage, and hidden in the cellars of the house, to be divided between the King and my father after the restoration of order.

When the peasants of La Durantie, who remained faithful, heard of the danger, they hastened to defend us. A mendicant was sent by the bandits as a spy ; she entered the park, saw the armed men upon the hall doorsteps, and upon her report the band decided not to attack us until they had collected more strength. This was our salvation. My father had not chosen to take any precautions, only some forty ill-armed countrymen had installed themselves in a room of the house against his will. His heart was full of bitterness to see the children of the country that he loved with perfect devotion coming to him with notions of murder and pillage. On these facts becoming known to the military authorities of Périgueux, they sent a force to the house ; however, the assailants had vanished, and did not appear again.

Our days passed sadly, full of fears for France. My mother was engaged in attending to my brother, and her duties as mistress of

the house; my sister taken up with her little children. Being the only one disengaged, I now composed my father's whole staff, and wrote continually to his dictation. By four in the morning we were at work; very often he would break off, and sadly say to me, 'Do you see, I could have saved them; but they did not choose it. Think that I have never been beaten; it is strange, I have always done more than I promised. It is not through interest or ambition that I have served my country. I never asked for anything, and I am without fortune. What blindness seized upon the King when he wanted to avoid civil war. He did not understand that if he had let me act, I should have saved my country from anarchy.'

Great tears filled his eyes; I tried to console him. 'No, my dear daughter,' said he, 'I ought to have saved them in spite of themselves, and told him, Sire, I restore your throne to you, and peace to my country.' He often referred to this dreadful day in our talk; this remembrance overwhelmed him.

How kindly and patiently did he receive my observations, when we, my mother, sister, or I, made him alter a sentence that might have been misconstrued by his enemies, when he poured out in his letters all the patriotic grandeur of his mind, and I observed that his confidences were addressed to men incapable of understanding them. He also saw everything as good and kind. How many selfish men, how many inferior men, have abused this openness, this frankness, this transparency of heart!

In the course of March, 1848, when there was a moment when Bugeaud believed in the possibility of a European war, he offered his services to M. de Lamar-tine, the most moderate of the ministers; but his offer was declined. It was then that, being insulted by the journals and demagogue papers, he determined upon sending the War - Minister, Colonel Charras, the bold and high-spirited letter, in which he complained of having been improperly blamed, and denied all participation in the alleged massacre of the rue Transnonnain, giving proofs in support.\*

The new doctrines now spreading unrestrained through Paris, the senseless humanitarian dreams of the communists, socialists, and other idea-mongers, had

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\* See Vol. i. p. 194.

the gift of enraging Bugeaud's lucid mind. So his friends were not astonished to see him start for the fight, and refute the principles that were opposed to his admirable good-sense. We find in a little work, a kind of treatise, published at Lyons in 1848, with the title, *The Socialists and Common Labour*, little tracts of political economy, masterpieces of logic and clearness. Wishing to oppose the notions of labour in common, he takes a specimen from agriculture, and proves his point in a picturesque and interesting way :

Men do not engage in the arduous labours of the field, unless they are driven to it by personal interest, family affection, or the need to provide for wife and children. Men do not work, or hardly work at all, for a general community, without the expectation of directly reaping the fruit of their labours. Each man trusts to all the rest for securing the produce required by all. Some kinds of work, like sowings, can be well done by regulation, and statute labour; but it is well enough known how work is done for the public. The performance of the duty upon vicinal roads stands as a lesson.

Look at a poor exceptionally zealous maire. He summons a hundred persons for five o'clock in the morning to repair an impassable road. Ten come at eight o'clock; they work carelessly till nine. Then comes the breakfast, taking two hours, and only at the poor maire's reiterated exhortations do they resume their picks, and let them fall softly till the time comes for another meal. The workplace, if it deserves the name, is deserted before the sun sets: this is public work. And you expect that the nation would be more abundantly fed than it is with such kind of work. You must know that, to make it live tolerably well, there are twenty-four millions of persons working very hard all the days of their life, from dawn to sunset, driven by necessity and family affection. With labour in common, the harvest of every year would not furnish half of what France requires to eat.

The Marshal could not keep silence in presence of the revolutionary propaganda, the odious books and pamphlets that every day made attacks upon family, religion, and property. He drew up one of those familiar dialogues, after the manner of Franklin, under the name of *Tales of a Vendéen Hut*, but bringing

out his precepts and wise advice in plain and easy language. In it he says—

I lament, when I see such large numbers of people in our great towns, walking about doing nothing, even the day-labourers, while in the fields; we find a melancholy solitude, except near the large towns. Most of the work remains to be done, and what is done is very imperfect. That is a very rich mine to be worked, to the advantage of the happiness and morality of the nation. If the people have a more rational education, they will no more believe in the chimeras of socialists, and will better appreciate country life. Instead of massing themselves in the great towns, they will stay in the villages. They will understand that, if their labour is harder, and their pay less, they have a safer and freer life, more independent of political and financial crises.

In a time of disturbance the peasant is not so well off as in time of peace. But he does not suffer hunger, and he can wait till order, the great benefactor of humanity, is re-established. Meanwhile, he sows his corn, and watches it grow; he attends to his cows, and sees the calves born. But the town workman is a prey to want, and complete idleness when work ceases. Then it is that evil, ambitious men take hold of him, drive him to despair, and make him get up a riot, in which numbers pay with their blood for the elevation of the tribunes who have stirred them up. Immediately afterwards the mass is still more wretched; but the quacks are in power; then they make empty speeches and laws, and, as they are well placed, they now call on the people to be orderly and patient. Oh, detestable deceivers of the people, how I hate, how I despise you!

About this time he wrote the following letter to his friend, the great journalist, Louis Veuillot; it was published, and had a great effect:

*La Durantie, 7th March, 1848.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,—You appear just as I have always supposed you would; you neglected me in my prosperity, you come to me when you see that I am unhappy. You say you do not approach me with consolation, and you are very right. In personal matters I have no affliction, no regret. I pray that France may be happily delivered from this severe trial. I give my cordial support to the men brought into power by circumstances. I have no grudge against them for their past, although they largely contributed to the crisis we are now labouring under. It is enough for me that they declare themselves for the maintenance of order, and the respect

of persons and properties. When I saw them boldly and cleverly struggling against men, who wanted more than a Republic, I understood that it was right to give them support, morally at least, and I made haste to offer my services.

In the Departments, as at Paris, all honest and sensible men feel the same.

The acts of the provisional Government in general give proof of wisdom. Yet I very much regretted, for them, and for us, their promise to secure work for the people. God alone can perform such a promise. The duty of any Government lies only within its power, and I defy all the theorists put together to find a solution of the problem. The men actually in power have preached in their writings the doctrine of a right to work; they must regret it now when they have to meet the difficulty. To keep the workmen patient, they are appointing a commission. They say they are making inquiries; they say they, with the workmen, are preparing a bill to be submitted to the National Assembly. This ought to have been done before the doctrine was spread abroad in the workshops. The only labour establishment it has been possible to open yet is one for doing earth-works. But the weavers, the embroiderers, the workers in iron-mongery, in jewellery, in joinery, &c., &c., will they go and move earth when neither their hands nor their backs are used to that sort of work? They must have work in their trade given them, and how could it be imagined that a government would be able to do this? Where could the vast sums required be found? And if, we imagine they were found, how could the Government look after such various works? Where could it get rid of the produce? for it would only undertake this immense task if nothing was being sold. If there was profit to be made, there would be no need of government: the manufacturers would provide work, the capitalists find money.

My dear friend, none but the people can find work for the people. The tailor finds work for the shoemaker, and reciprocally in all trades. The Government can do nothing in it directly. Indirectly it can favour trade, by good customs tariffs, by good treaties of commerce, by the multiplication and improvement of roads of communication, by the maintenance of peace abroad, and of law and order at home.

These two last conditions are much more essential to what is called the people, than to the rich. The rich man can wait for the restoration of order; his fortune may be a little diminished, but he will get his food and clothes. The very life of the people, on the contrary, is immediately affected by any disturbance; they have no time to wait, for they live from day to day by their labour. If you know M. Louis Blanc, tell him this from me.

You have then, my friend, some texts that your pen can expand



much better, if you choose to take them up. Be certain, that just at this moment, they are much more important than the discussion of religious questions, or even of liberty of teaching. The most pressing need is to make the workmen of our great towns understand that there is nothing more impossible to resolve, or more absurd, than the questions they have advanced as to the organization of work, and the association of workmen.

Are we not all associated, in fact? Is not the workman's interest intimately bound up with that of the head of the factory? If the head does not make his money, how can he continue to supply work? And if he has to close his factory because of his workmen's demands, have not they killed the goose with the golden eggs? If the factory is left to the associated workmen, they are not much better off; they are deficient in capital, as well as skill, and unity of direction. They would have to appoint a council of administration, paid in proportion to the superiority of its ability, over that of the other workmen, and it will absorb more of the returns than did the master's profit.

The simple workmen would share the risk of losses by bankruptcy, by the reduction of prices, and by accidents of all kinds. They would have to wait for the annual making up of accounts, to know if there was any bonus. But men must have something beforehand, to be able to wait till the end of the year for payment; but if instead of a bonus there is a loss, as often happens to manufacturers, the passed accounts would have to be reported to the whole number; would that be possible? And if impossible, what becomes of the enterprise? It is dead. The associates would disperse of themselves, and be eager enough to ask a settled salary from a head of a factory, who would undertake to find the capital, the tools of trade, and bear all the risks of loss.

My friend, it is the time, the force of circumstances, or God Himself, as you like to say, that has organized the working world as it now is. Do our learned writers pretend to be cleverer than God? Probably they imagine they are, because they want to reform what is the growth of ages.

No doubt everything is not of this mind. There are happy and unhappy, many workers and some idle: some men grow rich by labour, and most remain poor. This is melancholy, no doubt, but this miserable world is thus organized, and all the attempts men make to change this order of things, will only result in evil; all that can be done by human means is to apply some palliatives by institutions, and by charity.

When the dearth of work does not depend on a general cause, when only one or two towns are suffering, the Government can give them some relief, and ought to. But the principle must not be established, that it is the duty of Government to find work for

the people ; for if a great crisis arises, the Government is unable to meet it, and the people to whom it has promised work says that the Government is forsworn, and must be overthrown.

I should never run dry upon this question, and several others depending on it ; but this is enough ; to the wise listener greeting.

Yes, my dear friend, God alone is great and firm ; I know it as well as you. Why have I not your faith to be my consolation for all the woes of earth ? Perhaps it will come. Meanwhile I make use of my reason, and of the portion of moral power God has given me.

My wife and sister read your letter. They were greatly touched by it ; not more than I was, but in another way. Adieu. Best love.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

P.S.—You say you cannot do me any service ; you are mistaken. The *Estafette*, in its number of the 3rd or 4th, has a most infamous article about me, lying from one end to the other. They repeat in it the eternal accusation, of having ordered the homicides in the rue Transnonnain. My insertion of a letter, denying this hateful story, in the *Courier*, at the end of 1837 or beginning of 1838, is quite useless. I said I was not in the rue Transnonnain, and not in command of the troops that went there. All the same, they persist in devoting me to popular vengeance. Could not you write an article upon this, and get it repeated in some papers you know ?

On the 24th I was often among the people in their fury, and was listened to with sympathy. They often shouted, 'Long live Marshal Bugeaud !' and shook my hands thousands of times. Only one man reproached me with the rue Transnonnain. I told him he lied. 'But the papers have said so a hundred times.' 'The papers have lied a hundred times. I was not in the rue Transnonnain, nor was I in command of the troops that were there.'

The man who spoke to me was interrupted by his comrades shouting, 'Long live Marshal Bugeaud !' I found that there were good feelings in this people, though they were led astray, and I was not angry with them.

After political letters come family confidences. This is the first letter the Marshal wrote after the revolution of February to Mme. Feray, before she came to stay with her father at la Durantie.

TO THE COMTESSE FERAY, AT ALGIERS.

*La Durantie, 10th March, 1848.*

DEAR LÉONIE,—What has taken place in France must have surprised you very much, and made you very anxious for your

country and your father ; I have run no serious risk, but France almost fell into anarchy. That this fatal result did not ensue from the revolution is largely due to M. de Lamartine's courage and eloquence ; he was seventy-two hours contending with the Communists, who kept him blockaded at the Hotel de Ville. His behaviour under these cruel and critical circumstances has made me forget his political faults, although they did a great deal to bring about the situation he has made himself master of. This determined me to offer my services on the evening of the 26th, so as to give my moral support to a power that immediately showed itself to be the guardian of great social interests, although it had been called into being by the riot.

The same feeling ruled all honest men, in the country as well as at Paris ; and with very few exceptions, order was maintained. Will it always be so ? No one can say, but now one may hope.

Leaving Paris on the 26th at seven in the evening, we reached Périgueux on the 28th, and on the 29th, very early in the morning, we were at Excideuil. We were very soon surrounded by our friends, happy to see us back ; their reception was most animated and kind. At Lanouaille there was a degree more, the peasants came about us like the townspeople had, and all said to me, 'Stay with us now ; here you are safe, away there you would be killed ; give us some more farming lessons. You will be happier, and so shall we.'

My fields look very well, but the weather is dreadful, and that hinders our spring sowing, now very late.

My little darling, I was hungry to see you at La Durantie, now I am both hungry and thirsty. How happy should I be to have you and your husband here in the spring, to visit our fields and woods. You would comfort me for the bitter deceit of politics ; I should take you to walk in the English garden ; on fine days you should have your breakfast on a white stone table, that I have had placed in the middle of one of the prettiest groups of trees ; there we should hear the song of a thousand different birds. What a contrast with the roarings of the riot. Or we could go to Linty, take our morning meal there, and come back at night.

These plans are very sweet, but alas ! man proposes, and God disposes. If war breaks out, I shall be sent for. The chief man of the Provisional Government wrote to me four days ago : 'If war comes upon us, notwithstanding our moderation, we shall send you to the Rhine, and give you 300,000 men.' How sorry I am for the Duke d'Aumale and all the family ! They were far from deserving their fate. My dear Feray must have been much grieved at these events in general, and what affects Salvandy in particular. He may comfort himself ; his brother-in-law is safe, and I flatter myself that if war is avoided, and if the republic settles itself with

the wise principles that govern it at this moment, an amnesty will soon come. They would not like to be less generous than the July monarchy.

Adieu, my dear children ; love me as I love you, and come soon.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

At the time of great social crises, when revolution throws families into disorder and trouble, parting relations and friends, everyone feels a wish to exchange impressions with those he loves ; man becomes more confidential, more communicative. The two following letters, written to his sincere friends, M. Gardère and M. Roches, clearly display the condition of the Marshal's mind after the catastrophe at Paris, and give excellent information.

*La Durantie, 29th March, 1848.*

I cannot tell you, my dear Gardère, how happy I was to get your letter of the 26th. I was asking everyone about you, when you had gone to Havre upon the first symptoms of the cataclysm ; is he in England, America, or Bordeaux ? At last you are at Paris. God be praised. Your business, from its nature, is less affected than that of others. God be praised again ; and when I say that my own interest comes in for a small share of it. Here we are quiet, because our neighbours, town and country, love us. I am really very popular all over our country. I might have been elected for the national representation by a great majority ; but I thought I had supported the constitutional monarchy too warmly, for it to be proper for me to go and found a republic within a month of having opposed, I do not say fought with it in the streets. My presence would have made the republicans of the time just past, and of the streets, suspicious. I should have been more injurious than useful. And besides, I should have suffered much from the declamations I must have heard. I should have been a real contradiction. I therefore announced in the newspapers of the department that I could not accept the votes offered me on all sides.

I received most touching letters from the army.

Around me there is a great wish for an honest republic ; but a feeling that spreads every day, and far in the south and south-west, is that a hateful tyranny must be resisted. It would not be easy to establish a terror, or to attack property ; this would be the signal for civil war.

As for me, my dear friend, I am so glad to return to my farming life, for I have a horror of a political life, and of certain people in the towns still more; detestation for the plotters, or false minds that deceive this people. What madness is this organization of labour, the right of work, association, destruction of competition, &c. Madmen! You would overturn trade and society; perhaps you may cause streams of blood to flow, and then things will again become what time, necessity, and God Himself, has made them.

A thousand friendships, &c.

TO M. LÉON ROCHES, CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES, AT TANGIER.

*La Durantie, 4th May, 1848.*

MY DEAR ROCHES,—I was glad to receive your letter from Algiers; I found your whole heart and soul in it. I was much gratified, and be sure I return your feelings. My wife wishes me to say the same for her.

Yes, great events have taken place since our last exchange of letters. Alas! if it were only a republic substituted for the monarchy that the King thought he ought not or could not defend, I would take my part in it. In reality, from my childhood my manners have been very democratic; I have always lived in intimacy with the people, either in camp or in the fields, and in those two positions I think I have proved my love. But, my friend, the arrival of a pure democracy has given rise to a multitude of absurd and dangerous theories and bad passions that very much endanger the future of the republic. All the world had received it; not with transports, but, at least, with a resignation mingled with hope. The great principles at first proclaimed had caused the disappearance of some of the fear and reluctance that naturally arise from the remembrance of what the elder sister was. But that confidence soon disappeared, because it was found that all the proceedings and all the talk of '93 came up again, except the guillotine. Commissioners were sent into the departments to revolutionise them and manipulate the elections; these very soon divided the people into two categories, the pure and the impure, the late and the future republicans. The worst of the street-rabble were stirred up against the townsmen and the rich in many towns, and in some countries this mob committed deplorable outrages.

I was myself threatened with robbery, and perhaps death, by a neighbouring commune, that a bad lawyer had maddened by the power of lying! I was saved by the well-known devotion of my peasants, and also perhaps by the knowledge that I was guarded by thirty resolute neighbours, armed with double-barrelled guns. For myself I had five double-guns and four pistols. Once I thought of

Charles XII's defence at Bender, and was quite determined to imitate it.

At last we breathe a little. Though there have been most culpable manœuvres made by the ultra-republican party, and a whole system of intimidation, the elections are of a kind to make us hope for the establishment of a reasonable Republic; yet be sure this will not be without further struggle. To think otherwise would be ignorance of the Radical party.

Neither have the Communists and Socialists said their last word. They have had a notion that it was possible to organize work so that all workmen should live in great plenty, and work a great deal less. Their catch-word is 'No more wearing out of man.'\*

According to them when you order a coat or a pair of boots, and pay a long price for them, you wear out the tailor and boot-maker. The clever tribune writers no doubt think that the masters of workshops all make colossal fortunes out of their workmen's sweat, and that besides there was existing in the world an immense mass of wealth of every kind, existing before labour, that the aristocrats seized upon and cheated the people. They must think so, as they say that riches are ill divided, and that the revolution was made to get them shared equally. I had hitherto thought that riches were only created and distributed by labour, employed by everyone according to his power, his ability, and his activity. I had made a mistake like a fool as I am. It is God who gives all wealth, like He gives land, water, air, and light. Thus all the world has equal rights upon all that is created or to be created.

But what am I telling you there? You think I am taking you for a barbarian of the Sahara; but do not be angry, that is better than if I took you for a savant. See where letters have led us, by strength of light and civilisation. Every day a portion of our people commit basenesses that the Touaregs would blush at. Two months after the Revolution the mob at Excidenil spent a whole day in hooting at and tearing up a fine picture of the King that I had given to the town, and in the evening they put fetters on it and burnt it.

Our Algerian colonists are in a passionate delirium at the Republic, and the institutions it has given them. Now they think all obstacles are overcome. The fools! wait for the reverse of the medal. General Cavaignac is recalled; is it to become War-Minister? I wish it; but it does not seem quite likely. I should like him for Minister more than many others. Perhaps it is to give him command of an army? Do you know we are beginning to turn to war? For myself I should not be sorry; but if I had a voice in the chapter, I could not advise this folly. We might lose our

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\* 'Plus d'exploitation de l'homme.'

nationality or our liberty by it ; and quite certainly accomplish our ruin.

Adieu, my dear Roches ; present my respects to your wife, and my compliments to your father-in-law, and my love to yourself,

MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

We think it well here to give a curious letter, written by the Marshal to an inhabitant of Bordeaux, M. Felix. A report of the Marshal's death had been current in the provinces after the 24th of February. M. Felix wrote a despairing letter to the Duchess. The Marshal himself answered it thus :

*La Durantie, 16th March, 1848.*

No one can be more sensible than I am, my dear Monsieur Felix, of the great interest you take in me. I was moved even to tears at the account of your and your son's grief when you heard the report of my death. I have done nothing to deserve this touching attachment, directly at least. So I cannot lay it to the credit of anything but the services I have had the happiness to do to the country as warrior or farmer. These causes of your kind feelings towards me do honour to your patriotism ; gratitude for services done to the country is not a common thing at the present time. How many men think themselves more patriotic than I am, because they sang the 'Marseillaise,' and danced a *farandole* when they heard the news from Paris.

You must have soon heard I was not dead. I now tell you that I never ran any risk of being killed. There was no fighting near me, and very little anywhere else. From one illusion after another it was always supposed that the riot would be quieted by concessions without fighting. The command was taken from me a few moments before the abdication.

I went home with only one officer, and as I passed two groups of rioters I made speeches to them in favour of a Regency.

I need not tell you that I was not in favour of a Republic ; but at last we have one ; it announces itself much more honestly than its elder sister ; the men who are in power have made, and are still making, unheard-of efforts to protect society from the anarchists ; so they must be faithfully and actively assisted in this holy work. If the Republic keeps its promises of this moment I shall love it well ; meanwhile I shall defend it, in foreign parts if necessary, as long as it moves in the ways of liberty and true fraternity.

Receive, my dear Monsieur Felix, my good wishes for yourself and your family.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

The revolution followed the normal course, and excesses speedily followed the follies. We think it interesting to give a confidential letter from M. Thiers to Marshal Bugeaud, written a few days after the invasion of the Chamber by the Radicals of the time, 15th May, 1848:—\*

*Paris, 18th May, 1848.*

MY DEAR MARSHAL,—I am going to try to write more legibly. MM. Dezaimon and Dupont have shown much ill-will towards me, and so there is no use in thinking about them any more. In general it takes a good deal of courage to nominate me. I am a representative of the past; what they call the reaction, and it is known that I should like things quite contrary to the spirit of the times. Also I am nominated everywhere, for those people are in a minority everywhere.

I am nominated in the Seine Inférieure, in the Seine, in the Orne, and the Gironde, besides several other places where my candidature is not so serious. Now everywhere, by the side of bold partisans, who come to the front, of their own motion, unknown to me, there are fastidious people who consider it unseasonable or dangerous that I should be nominated. Thus I cannot tell if I shall be elected with so many nominations. I incline to think not. I have not much hope except at Paris, and that will be a terrible fight. But the national guard that has preserved order, such sort of order as is left us, are not afraid of dictators, and will freely support me. There is nothing to fear then but cheating, and M. Louis Blanc's eighty thousand pensioners, paid by the treasury at forty sous a-day. I have my opinion, and shall speak about property, taxes, finances, good or bad government, unbearable things at the present time. If I had been in the Assembly during these last days, I should have wished some results to have ensued from the crime committed against it; and so should be as inconvenient to my friends as odious to my enemies. At the bottom of my heart I doubt my use in the Assembly; and I only go thither because I am bound in honour. I think it would be better if they left me to die

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\* This letter shows M. Thiers, who was not a Deputy, much engaged with his numerous candidatures for the Legislative Assembly. Was not this a sort of plebiscite that the late minister was already dreaming of, a plebiscite that was eighteen years later to be an honour paid by France to his patriotism? It certainly would have been curious in 1873, just when M. Thiers, as chief of the state, was treacherously stirred up against the Conservatives by the extreme Radicals, to remind him of what he thought of his future allies in 1848.



in retirement, as I could always be brought out if there was anything useful to be done. Anyway I do not choose to make myself ridiculous by standing in too many places, and shall retire from those where there is no chance. As the Dordogne seems one of these, I think, my dear Marshal, you must spare your pains, and hold hard. At least I think so, MM. Dupont, Dezaimon, and others, being quite against me. I leave you to judge.

You cannot imagine how many tricks, follies, and double-faced proceedings M. de Lamartine is perpetrating; it is he that has been the cause of everything these latter days. It is he that has caused doubt of the orders given; he objected to the arrest of Blanqui, demanded by Caussidière. I keep on waiting, and have a great wish to hear the expression of your concentrated anger. I have written legibly to you to get this expression as my reward. I repeat that I trust to you about the candidature for the Dordogne; but it seems a useless trouble for you, and an unlikely chance for me.

Cordially yours,

A. THIERS.

As we have M. Thiers' letter, it seems interesting to give another written by Commandant Trochu, formerly an aide-de-camp of the Marshal's, to his former chief.\*

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\* The Marshal's affection for M. Trochu had already lasted some years, as shown by these letters.

'MARSHAL BUGEAUD TO KING LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

*'Algiers, 3rd June, 1846.*

'SIR,—At the same time as I send a request to the War-Minister for the promotion of Captain Trochu, my sole aide-de-camp, trusting to your kindness, I address myself directly to your Majesty, with a request that you will grant me this favour. I shall look upon it as a personal recompense for the services I have been able to render in this eight months' crisis that Algeria has gone through.

'And yet, sire, in requesting the rank of chef d'Escadron for M. Trochu, I believe that I am doing the state good service. When we meet with men of military capacity and qualities above the general line, they ought not to be kept in the ordinary groove. If they are left to grow old in inferior rank, the country is deprived of the great services they might do it in a more elevated position.

'Too many incapable men come to the top by seniority: the number of them borne on the general staff is alarming for the future of the country; they might bring several Waterloo days upon us again.

'Let us, therefore, give early promotion to some well-proved capacities, so that being still young when they reach the rank of General Officer, they may be a warrant for the safety of France, and the honour of her standard.

'Captain Trochu completely answers to these views of the national future. If he did not belong to a special service nothing could be easier; he has been three years in his present rank, with six years' service and distinction in Africa. How many

## COMMANDANT TROCHU TO MARSHAL BUGEAUD.

*Tours, 16th May, 1848.*

MARSHAL,—Since the last letter I had the honour to write you, I have been obliged to go twice to Paris to expedite the arrangement of my father's business, and provide for the speedy conveyance to Brittany of the part of my family that is at Lyons, in the difficult position you know of. The important events that have taken place at Paris will be reflected in the provinces. Lyons will be in a great state of agitation. And there is reason to fear that some of those violent scenes that have often occurred in the history of that unfortunate city will take place. You may rest assured, sir, that as soon as I am free from anxiety about my family, and I know that they have started on their journey back to their own country, I shall not lose a minute in hurrying to La Durantie.

I saw Fourichon in Paris. He was very melancholy, and did not see the country's future in my rosy light. He could see nothing in prospect for himself, and lived from day to day as all the world now does in France. Everybody in Paris was very anxious as to the chances of a violent manifestation directed against the National Assembly, although the streets were quiet.

To-day's papers tell us that it has taken place, and ended quietly enough after the arrest of some of the demoniacs. Three months ago France made a revolution to have an electoral reform; she has got universal suffrage, and here she is trying a revolution against it. How like it is to the story of spoilt children crying out for a little bit of sugar, getting a great deal, and then wanting the moon.

cavalry and infantry captains have become superior officers in war-time with less claim than he has. But on the staff it would be exceptional, a great reason being in the considerations I have laid before Your Majesty.

'Sire, you ought not to be appealed to for anything but extraordinary matters of great interest, public or private. I do this with confidence, being sure to be understood.

'I am, with profound respect

'MARSHAL D'ISLY.'

## KING LOUIS-PHILIPPE TO MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

'MY DEAR MARSHAL,—I read the letter you wrote me in favour of your aide-camp, Captain Trochu, with very real interest. I spoke to the War-Minister about it, and do myself the pleasure of telling you that I found the best disposition in that quarter; you may also reckon upon me, and I expect that M. Trochu will not be long before he obtains the promotion that his good services, and your testimony in his favour, deserve. Believe, my dear Marshal, all my feelings towards you.

'Your affectionate

'LOUIS-PHILIPPE.'

From the Marquis de Flers' Collection of Autographs.

Rivet still does not write to me. The letters I receive from Algiers still show the greatest anxiety for the future. General Cavaignac has declined a good deal in estimation during his short government. There is General Changarnier who is going to take to it his practice in *managing the troops by his will and power of conquest*. I think he will want these great qualities, and several more that he does not possess to as great a degree.

I have heard that M<sup>de</sup>. Feray came to Algiers alone, in better health, and most bravely encountering the trials she had to go through. We hope that she is now with the Duchess, and request you to convey the expression of our deep and respectful sympathy to those ladies.

I am, with respect, Marshal, your most sincerely devoted,

J. TROCHU.

There is a portrait of Marshal Bugeaud from the hand of his old aide-de-camp, General Trochu, given in *l'Armée Française*, that is a fitting sequel to the affectionate letter above:—

Could any one not bow to the sincerity of his patriotism, the firmness of his incomparable good sense, the breadth of his views, the wealth of his experience, the really antique simplicity of his life and habits?

Perhaps the most remarkable of these grand natural faculties, was the singular intrepidity that he displayed in danger, boundless and without preparation . . . . . To this he owed the precious advantage of preserving at the most exciting moments a steadfastness of observation, a solidity of judgment, that allowed him to choose his line with a mind inaccessible to disturbance; great sagacity, never agitated by even the heaviest feeling of responsibility. He was permanently in the condition of a military professor propagating what he called "proper notions," with unwearied activity, without the smallest care for the rank or quality of his hearers. He was a whole treasury of professional knowledge, where the principles of war founded upon an attentive observation of the various states of the human soul, and the mind of troops in the midst of danger, were supported by the exciting tales of events that went back to the battle of Austerlitz, and extended to the struggles of the First Empire.

The letter below written to the Marshal, by General Bedeau, shows that thoughts were already

turning to the conqueror of Isly, and that his African lieutenants were turning their eyes towards him as the future preserver of order and society.

*Paris, 19th May, 1848.*

MARSHAL,—You know the events of the 15th of May, and the fearful anarchy we were falling into, but for the vigorous action of the National Guard. Still we are daily threatened with a fresh attack, though I do not believe in it much, because some of the chief ringleaders have been arrested, and others are afraid to compromise themselves any more, wishing to preserve an influence on the assembly and Government, that will be refused them; lastly, because, being entrusted with the duty of securing the independence or the defence of the legislative palace, I am careful in my precautions; but that does not advance us any further. The Assembly is distrustful of the executive power, and jealous, although they would give the Assembly their confidence in a way that has been already ill-rewarded. These questions will be settled some of these days. I think that the Chamber will not give up its power, but the struggle continues. As in statics two opposing forces annul each other, we must expect a *status quo*, and barren debates wearying the country.

The Assembly, Marshal, has done me the honour to put me in command of the forces destined for its protection. I have accepted this as the duty of a good citizen, but probably in a few days I shall resign the important duty, because the executive power is too jealous of me, and is every moment putting sticks into my wheels. If we do not come to a decision to have one commandant for all the troops at Paris, the movable national guard, and the stationary national guard, who have independent chiefs, we shall come to a state of anarchy, and perhaps to a general movement of the national guard, dangerous to the Government it despises, to the republic it loves, notwithstanding the sufferings that have been, and still are, the consequences of the installation of this Government. Perhaps you will take me for a modern Cassandra; I hope so. I begin to grow old, and men are said to dote when they grow old; but these are my prophecies, Marshal; God grant that they come not true.

I have communicated your kind remembrance to Négrier; he is very much gratified, and desires me to convey his respects to you. As for the 900 muskets and cartridges he is said to have bought, to arm the representatives and give them the means of resistance, it is a story. All the world, Marshal, is not as energetic as you are, and does not know so well how to use the sword, or speech, or the plough.

I thank you, Marshal, for the kind things you say to me. I can never forget the campaigns I made under your orders, any more than the good feeling there was between us, and the constant kindness shown me by the Duchess ; have the goodness to be my interpreter to her, and convey to her my respectful homage, and yourself receive the assurance of my most devoted feelings.

BEDEAU.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE DAYS OF JUNE. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (1848).

Days of June—Weakening of the Republic—Letters to Jamin and Féray—The Marshal consulted on the choice of a Governor for Algeria—Constitution of September—The Presidential Elections—Bugeaud a Candidate—Letters to Lavergne—Resignation—Letter to Ducrot—The Era of the Cæsars—Letter to L'Heureux.

THE days of June were brought about by the letting loose of the passions of the rabble, added to the unpopularity, the weakness, and isolation of the republican government; that is to say, one of the most sanguinary and formidable insurrections France has had to endure. When we think of the torrents of blood that flowed in the streets of Paris to enable the republicans of the National to keep their power a few months more, we cannot prevent ourselves from remembering the abuse and calumny heaped on the heads of King Louis-Philippe's Government, and Marshal Bugeaud, in consequence of the repression of riots got up by those same republicans, who recoiled from no violence that might preserve their power when they had become members of the Government.

During these days of woe, the Marshal was at La Durantie, and God spared the conqueror of Isly the sorrow of shedding the blood of Frenchmen. The following letter written to Colonel Jamin, sometime aide-de-camp to the Duke d'Aumale, incidentally touches upon the grave events that had taken place.

TO COLONEL JAMIN, COMMANDING THE 8TH REGIMENT OF THE  
LINE IN ALGERIA.

*La Durantie, 4th July, 1848.*

MY DEAR COLONEL,—One of my neighbours and friends begs me to recommend to you his son, Antoine A . . . . , who has joined your regiment as a volunteer. I hope he is worthy of the recommendation I send you; if he is, you will oblige me by giving him his stripes, and afterwards keeping an eye upon him, to push him if he deserves it.

What cruel events, my dear colonel! Your heart must have been wrung by them as much and more than mine, for you have had a closer view than I have of the noble and excellent family that deserved quite another fate. It had not failed in any of its promises it was the victim of shameless ambition and socialist ideas.

The demagogues, the false or perverse minds, have seized the power; the gate was opened to them by the ambitions of the dynastic opposition, who thought the Ministry had lasted too long.

No doubt there were faults in parliamentary and government tactics. The Ministry should have been dismissed sooner, the men changed, to satisfy the ambitious, and make some concessions to these notions of reform; but they have been punished as if they had committed crimes. In other words, the catastrophe and crisis were only retarded by giving way, for the fall might have been avoided by more strictness and foresight.

Socialist ideas, the excesses of the press, the permanently factious could not fail to bring an attempt at revolution upon us. This had been written, for me, long ago; and therefore in February I did all I could to urge energetic preparation against the storm. The Ministry, and perhaps the King himself, attributing my advice to personal interest, thought that I was thus making a bid to be Governor of Paris, and they attended very little to me for two months. They wanted to give me the command, but did not venture to brave Duchatel, who thought that Jacqueminot would be humiliated if he was commanded by a Marshal of France! However, Jacqueminot was very ill, and could do no useful service. The troops were under a lieutenant-general, but there could be no unity.

The troops remained seventy hours under arms, in presence of the rioters, who were breaking the lamps, burning the guard-rooms, cutting down the trees in the Champs Elysées and the Boulevards, without being hindered in any way. At the same time they were covering the National Guard with abuse, and softening the hearts of the Line by a lot of speeches: 'You are of the people as we are; you are our brothers; you would not fire upon us, when we only want our liberty:' and they were allowed to talk like this not two paces off.

At last it was decided that I was to have the command, and I took it at three in the morning of the 24th. At seven, when all my arrangements were made for a powerful resistance, and one column had taken the offensive in several places, the new Ministers, Thiers and Barrot, came and brought me the King's order to withdraw the troops and mass them around the Tuileries and garden. I long resisted this fatal order, not understanding all the meaning of it, but had to yield to fresh commands. At last, when the solemn moment came, when shots were falling on the Palace, and it ought to have been defended, the command was taken from me and conferred upon Marshal Gérard. And the King had abdicated! Hearing firing in the direction of the Louvre, I hurried to repulse the attack, although no longer commanding, when I found all the troops evacuating the Place du Carrousel, and going out by all the exits. At the same time I heard that the King was making his way out by the garden. I could do no more than raise my hands to heaven and groan deeply over the fall of the monarchy that had given France seventeen years of peace, liberty, and progress of all kinds.

I will not tell you about the march of events for the last four months, nor the dreadful days of the 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th of June. The papers will have told you all I could say. I think that the red Republic is beaten for some time, but the socialist notions always exist; and if most energetic measures are not taken against the promoters of anarchy, a little sooner or a little later we shall see the struggle begin again.

Adieu, my dear colonel. I think you are very lucky to be in Africa, far from these melancholy disputes between civilisation and barbarism. The Arabs we call barbarous are infinitely less so than we are. Recall me to the recollection of our brave army; I bear it in my heart, and am sorry I ever left it.

A thousand friendships.

MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

Though the Marshal had little confidence in the Republican Government, he was above all things a man of order and authority, approving sincerely of General Cavaignac's energy in repressing the riot.

Colonel Féray, the Marshal's son-in-law, being then at Paris, was confidentially sent for by the President of the executive power, General Cavaignac, and asked by him to consult the old governor of the country on the choice of a Governor-general, and various questions relating to Algeria.



The reply of the old conqueror and organizer of Africa was sent without delay, and there is no occasion to expatiate upon the interest and value of this document, a kind of confidential memoir of high import:—

*La Durantie, 23rd July, 1848.*

MY DEAR HENRY,—Before I answer the questions you put me in your letter of the 21st, I wish to tell you that, having this moment again read that of 21st July, I have been more struck than on the first reading by what Cavaignac told you about me. There prevails in his words an ardour of sincerity, loyalty, and patriotism that compels conviction and belief. I certainly have more confidence in it than in the words of the other personage, whom I have always considered less sincere, less patriotic, and very selfish. Perhaps we have been too severe in our opinion of him. He certainly has undoubted qualities, and I am very glad that his conduct in the four days has deserved public esteem. He is one more man to protect society, and we have none to spare.

Now for your questions.

I think an attempt should be made to find the Governor-general among the *maréchaux-de-camp* (major-generals) whose career has been in Africa. But if a man with the proper qualifications cannot be found among them, then go to the colonels or lieutenant-colonels. Among the *maréchaux-de-camp* made in the last two or three years, I own I am rather in a difficulty. Saint-Arnaud would suit by his fervour, his ability, his bravery, his quick determination, and his power of command. But he is too light in his private conduct, he has debts, and is always inclined to make more. So he must be set aside, though with regret.

Pélissier has many qualifications, but is not wide enough in mind; he is very brave, but has not much notion of war. Then his character would not chime in well with the civil power. Though a very good man, he is very violent at times, and also rather ridiculous in his ways. Anyhow, he is a man of energy, honest, very well disciplined, very exact in obedience to orders. He might be taken up again if we find no better.

I know MacMahon very little. I know he is an excellent fighting officer, very soldierly, very firm; but I do not know if he has the breadth of mind necessary for the government of Europeans and Arabs. I am doubtful of him.

As far as I have seen, General Morris has seemed to me more intelligent, more capable; he is also an excellent fighting officer, and I believe very honest. But his alliance with a Jewess, though

terminated in an honourable manner, would make it a difficult thing enough. But for that, in the bottom of my mind, I consider him the most suitable among those I have examined.

Ladmirault is a good soldier, who leads his regiment well, is not wanting in a certain intelligence ; but I think has not breadth enough to make a good Governor-general.

I have kept General Camou for last, and yet he is a man who has infinitely more ability and mind than he has displayed. He is especially full of good-sense, and in truth, if I had to choose, it is he that I should finally select, giving him a good chief of the staff, and a good director of civil business.\*

I should be very glad to adopt a combination of Canrobert at Algiers, Bosquet at Oran, Barral at Constantine.

To go a notch lower, I would make Canrobert, Bosquet, or Barral Governor-general, and put Lieutenant-colonel Féray at Algiers, Forton at Oran, and Desvaux at Constantine, making him a lieutenant-colonel, if he is not so already.

But I should not think this combination could be adopted. How could it be arranged with the colonels of regiments? According to this plan there must be only battalions detached from regiments in France, and that would be very inconvenient. So it will not be possible to go below the rank of colonel for the commands of provinces, at least unless the officers selected for these commands were immediately raised to a rank superior, or at least equal, to that of colonel. This is often done in England. But, as there is in that country a very great respect for seniority in the higher ranks, they promote at the same time all the officers senior to the man selected. The only inconvenience of this is financial. It would not be done in France ; besides, it could not take place on account of the law, that prevents promotion without employment.

I cannot agree to the division into three provinces independent of one another. If the only question was of administration and colonisation, it could be very well done under the central direction of the War-Minister. But the question of war and ruling the Arabs must make us absolutely reject this measure. In order to make the provinces independent of one another without danger, each one must be provided with an effective force large enough to meet any contingencies, that is to say, able not only to conquer the Arabs, but also to make head against possible attack from without. An army of more than a hundred thousand men would be required for this,

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\* At the end of the grand five months' campaign, Camou's column, without expecting it, had come upon the Emir Abdel-Kader in person upon the Isser. Though the Lieutenant-colonel's pursuit was unsuccessful, it was most ardent. And this incident had given the Marshal a greatly exaggerated idea of the real power of this brave and honourable officer.

quite impossible in the present state of things, especially if we have a war in Europe. Not being able to keep up such a strength in Algeria, we must have centralisation, as this will allow of the speedy transport of forces from the centre to the extremities, or the extremities to the centre, by means of steamboats. These movements may also be made more slowly by land, but on condition of a single rule for all Algeria.

It is the question of strength that ought to guide us at the present moment, for I fear that our finances and our difficulties in Europe will for a long time prevent our having any serious or large thoughts of colonization in Algeria! We seem condemned to keep our conquest barren. It was because I looked forward to such a state of things that I wanted to establish eighty or a hundred thousand families, having the best non-commissioned officers or soldiers for their heads, as quickly as possible.

I pronounce positively against the independence of the three provinces.

I would not advise my old lieutenants to put Algeria in a state of siege; this would be to put on a coat of bad varnish, and cause an outcry in France and Algeria without advantage. The vital question is not to know if the Europeans will have more or less liberty, if they will be governed in one way or another, whether the power ought to be more military or more civil. All that may excite the fools and chatters of our coast towns, but is of no real importance at all. What ought to be done? Aggrandise the country by a colonisation that has vigorous elements, and great public works opening up roads for colonisation. Add to this a considerable strength, 100,000 men for instance, because the army is the first element of colonisation, influencing it in three important ways; first by the contribution it makes to the colonising movement in money, secondly by the safety it gives, thirdly by its numerous and cheap arms, without which it would be almost impossible to execute the works of great public utility.

The army being numerous, and rendering the most important services, it ought to have the supremacy. But to give it, without wounding theoretical and chimerical notions too much, it would be enough, in my opinion, to place Algeria in a state of war, and put a large number of officers upon the council of administration, if it be retained. Also the general government must have the right of expelling inveterate disturbers. There is not much need of other rights, when there is the power that an army of a hundred thousand men, or even less, gives.

No doubt, to be in perfect harmony with the state of things, and the object to be attained, it would be more judicious to have no power but the military, as I had arranged it in what was called the mixed zone. There would be one or two magistrates, or able

administrators, at the Governor's side, not to act directly, but to inform the Governor, and under his orders direct the judges and military administrators; this would certainly be the most reasonable way, and most in harmony with the position, and cheapest for the treasury. But the civilians would think they were oppressed, and however good this administration might be, they would lay to its account all the difficulties and inconveniences that are in the nature of things. Let us therefore leave the civil administration to the colonists; but give the upper hand to the military administration. Concessions to the spirit of the times are necessary, however absurd they may be.

Although the colonists are at this moment having a painful experience of civil liberty, they will still believe that it is an universal panacea. Let us leave them this moral satisfaction in Algeria; although it is good for nothing, the absence of it might create a real evil, for men's minds would be exercised. If great things are done, little civil bickerings will not be important.

The new position of France forbids me to insist upon colonisation by the army, though it is the best way and that by far. The most pressing need of to-day is to free the metropolis as much as possible from the town proletariat; they are a bad material for rural colonisation, but French policy ought to prevail. I should be glad then if the War-Minister were furnished with all the money he could spend to advantage, in settling the French proletariat. The army should be increased in proportion to the number of colonists that could be established.

It must not be lost sight of, that this great measure of policy and colonisation would necessarily entail a large increase of the army; the troops employed in giving necessary protection to the work of settling the colonists would be almost fixed to the spot for two years at least, and so could not be employed to put down the Arabs; they could only exercise a moral compulsion in a certain radius around them. This increase of force is the more necessary, as the irritation of the Arabs would inevitably be increased by the introduction of a large number of rural colonists into their country, who would greatly interfere with the natives' cultivation, and especially the pasture of their herds. Whatever may be said, they would have a right to consider themselves robbed, and it is natural to strive against robbery; to become a robber a man must be strong. We are condemned to rob in Africa, that we may not be robbed in France! I think this is the only means of even partially fulfilling the rash promises that the Republic made to some of the people on its arrival.

If the civil administration, which ought never to have been established, is maintained, we cannot put a soldier on the direction of civil affairs. It must be all one, or all the other; civil rule with

a military government above it, or purely military rule, and then for judges and administrators to be chosen among the officers most capable of these duties. The military nursery would certainly furnish subjects preferable to those they might send us from France, selected among the civilians.

I have already answered in these last lines the question you put in these words, 'Do you know any way of simplifying the government of Algeria?' What I have just mentioned is certainly the simplest way, the truest, the cheapest, but it does not quite answer the second part of your question, 'So as to be able to meet all the dangers that may threaten from without, from within, and from the colonists.' I strike out the colonists, they are not dangerous, if only the Governor has a little firmness. As to danger from the Arabs and without, I know no remedy but our system of war and occupation, energetically applied, only preserving the posts necessary for victualling the active columns; keeping these columns always provided with all requisites in the way of transport and stores of all kinds, so as to operate the moment a danger appears; that no consideration, like a secondary necessity, should lead to scattering the forces; that they be always ready to concentrate; that if the revolt is general, they must not absurdly pretend to conquer it on all points at once; they must not try to cover long lines, for that is attempting impossibilities; they must be sure they can protect themselves a thousand times better by the offensive, than by an absolute defensive; that if the danger came from without, by an army landing, the Arabs must be neglected for a time, so as to collect force enough to have every chance of crushing the invading army; that being done, they could go back to the Arabs with a great moral power added to material power, and this secures success.

In order to be able to dispose of the greatest possible portion of the strength of the army, measures must be taken to reduce the garrisons of towns and posts to the smallest amount, by a well-considered system of fortification. No exterior works, no detached posts; a simple enceinte as small as possible, and a redoubt in the interior to protect the magazines, and serve as a last refuge to the garrison. The towns and posts must always have a year's provisions, proportioned to the strength of the garrison, and besides a sufficient reserve to victual a column of three thousand men three times. The towns ought to have still larger stores, because the mass of the troops would be stationed there when there is no fighting.

I think, my dear Henri, I have broadly answered all your questions. If I do not advise the restoration of pure and simple military rule in Algeria, it is because I think it is very difficult to fit that in with republican notions. You see that under the constitutional monarchy, I had all the trouble in the world to prevent

the civil administration from spreading its delays, its complications, its impediments, and enormous expenses over the whole extent of the territory. If the Republican Government thinks itself strong enough to brave the outcries of the press and the attacks from the tribune in this matter, I shall congratulate it in the interests of France and Algeria. For there is no doubt at all, that military rule is, and for a long time will be, that which best suits the condition of our colony. Those who have thought and still think the contrary, forget that we are in front of a people of three or four million souls, having four or five hundred thousand armed and very warlike men.

I send you a first draft just as I have dictated it, but you may show it to Generals Cavaignac and Lamoricière if you think fit.

MARSHAL B. D'ISLY.

Though the Republican Government had gained a victory over the insurgents of June, that is to say, the only really logical republicans, it had come out of the struggle very much weakened. The repression of the riot, directed by General Cavaignac, rendered that honest citizen unpopular and hated as much as the supposed executioner of the rue Transnonnain. Weary of the Provisional, and cured of its follies, the National Assembly hastened to lay the foundation of a new government, and to add a fresh constitution to the long list, based upon a single Chamber, and a President elected by universal suffrage. This was the establishment of two rival powers, without any intermediary to prevent their antagonism, or dull the blows.

As we know, from the 24th of June, Cavaignac had been invested with the executive power by the National Assembly. On the 25th of November, the Assembly declared by a fresh vote that he had deserved well of his country. During the course of June, Prince Louis Napoleon had been elected at the partial elections for Paris and three departments ; but he had resigned, and returned to England, when

in September five departments sent him to Parliament. This time he joined in the legislation, and voted for the constitution.

The only two serious candidates for Presidency of the Republic were Prince Louis Napoleon and General Cavaignac. Other candidates had been put up, among them M. Ledru Rollin and Marshal Bugeaud. The latter very speedily resigned, as soon as the Conservative party, and the Royalists of every shade, had declared in favour of Prince Louis Napoleon.

But before Prince Louis Bonaparte's candidature had assumed serious proportions, thanks to the Napoleonic legend, the Marshal's name was certainly that which united most suffrages. As his friends pressed him very much, he wrote the following letter to M. Léonce de Lavergne, formerly a deputy ; it is a kind of programme, a profession of faith drawn up in haste, to be confidentially communicated to the promoters of his candidature.

*La Durantie, 19 October, 1848.*

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE,—Let us keep up the old title that may soon become new again. I think as you do about the alteration in the ministry that has taken place. The circumstances and the nature of things necessarily make it transitory. Coalition or conciliation ministries have never been successful in ordinary times ; and how should this one succeed, in the midst of the ardent passions, destructive utopias, and domestic and foreign complications, of our melancholy time ?

I wish to think that, along with the impatient ambition of MM. Dufaure and Vivien, there is a sort of devotion to the idea of a moderate Republic ; but what can they do with their weak, fastidious character ? No doubt, take care of the goat and the cabbages. They will satisfy neither the true friends of order, nor the men of the National, still less those of the Mountain, whose first wish is for the tyrannical rule of their infernal coterie. I think, therefore, that from this time to the Presidential election, the new ministry will be pretty well worn out.

If it had slightly purified the departmental administration, while waiting, it would have done good service to order; and we might have hoped for elections that would have given a large majority in the Assembly to a moderate Republic. I have no hopes from the character of MM. Dufaure and Vivien. They are not of the stature to save the country; they are only clever debaters for a government regularly established. Can they impose a salutary fear upon the red and socialist factions? I am far from believing it. I much more think that their audacity will increase. As for conciliating them, if MM. Dufaure and Vivien hope this, they are very idiotically artless.

I, therefore, do not expect any decisive service from them; and, like you, I am afraid that they will divide our party by their talent in debate, and the personal consideration they enjoy as honest men.

It is very evident to any clear-sighted man, that this bastard and lame combination has only been invented to give a chance for Cavaignac's candidature. It is a bid for votes, and nothing else. All the same, many people will be caught by it, if a large number of the accredited organs of the press do not expose the snare.

I did not know the behaviour of the *Siècle*; I do not see it. I have let my subscription to the *Débats* expire; I only receive the *Press*, the *Assemblée Nationale*, the *Constitutionnel*, and some well-written country papers.

The *Constitutionnel* has surprised me a little; but I thought, and still think, that its indecision, and perhaps its support, were only a trick of war to get greater influence afterwards by the moderation displayed at first. If it was not that, the reason must be in its having abandoned its chief prompter, who has, nevertheless, great claims on the Republican Government. I do not know if this personage, whom I appreciate still more than I did for his late speeches, and his book upon property, has received communications from Louis Napoleon; what I know very well is that no overture has been made to me from that side.

Some one has written to my friends to tell them to persuade me to go to Paris, as some important personages there wish to converse with me. I answered that I was waiting in my fields till France wants me, either at home or abroad; that I would present myself in answer to the appeal of the public or of the Assembly, but not to that of one or many individuals, especially when they are unknown to me.

I am entirely of your opinion; the part of social order can no longer retire from the field; it has only done too much so far. It must have its candidate for the Presidentship, must bring him forward openly, and as actively as possible. If they disappear, they will make themselves forgotten or abandoned by all weak men without political faith; and that is the majority.

Is the candidate to be the person you mention? That is for



you, gentlemen, to determine. All that I can say is, that though he is not conceited enough to think himself the providential man, he would not consider that duty above his devotion, his courage, and his firm resolution; but would assist with all the power of his soul and body in bringing France back to the basis that might produce the restoration of order to her, by the reign of wise laws, and prosperity to the fullest extent through order.

In the last fortnight overtures have been made to him from Paris, and various places in France, similar to yours. They come from men of almost all shades of politics—except the red, you may be sure. Journalists from the west and south have offered the support of their circulation. He is, besides, informed that in several departments the Legitimists have joined with the old and new Conservatives in this notion; that some of the former have written to Rome to endeavour to obtain the Pope's recommendation to the clergy; that others have written to England to engage high personages to support his candidature with their friends, but without the publicity of the press.

I tell you these things confidentially, because one confidence is worth another; but I should not have spoken of it to you if you had not challenged me. But as you have the notion, it is well that you should know everything that I know on the state of the question, for your guidance.

I hope you will think that the person you have in view would never have dared to pretend to so great and formidable an honour; but you must equally understand, that if, by an almost impossibility, it came to him, he would not recoil from this great mission. He feels conscious of all the power of soul necessary for the situation; but he knows that he may not have light enough for certain things; he will provide for this by surrounding himself with the most capable men, whose names have long been fixed in his mind.

He is not at all inclined to allow himself to be ruled by a factious minority, that always appeals to force against the decisions of the majority. In this case he would accept war, and carry it on with all the energy he is capable of. It is much to be feared that the actual crisis can have no other solution; that appears to him, unhappily, to be written in the near future. All the consequences of this will be accepted. There is no belief in the possibility of a coalition with the demagogues and modern socialists. They desire the destruction of existing society. It is, therefore, war to extremity.

I think that the Bonapartist party ought to be very glad to see the friends of order produce their candidate; for if this candidate is only supported by the votes of the men of order, who think and reflect, and he has not the mass of the people for him, as is to be feared,

he will only take votes from Cavaignac, and that would favour the said princely election.

Just at present this candidate may be supposed to have the best chance. Supposing he was successful, he must be bound to reckon with the party of order. The object will not be attained by effacing themselves, but by finding one or two million votes for their own candidate; this, as you say, would take them from the two other claimants, who would not be strong enough to reckon without us.

Battles cannot be won without fighting; so we must resolutely enter the lists.

You say you can undertake for the departmental press; that is a great deal. At the present time it is more influential than that of Paris. On this opportunity, I may tell you, that I have been officially informed by one of the journalists present at the congress of Tours, that the meeting decided that, if the President was to be elected by the people, they would advocate the selection of the name you mention to me.

I do not expect that you will persuade the *Journal des Débats* to support you: it has always been for the existing power; there is more reason to have hopes of the *Constitutionnel*. It seems to me still more possible to gain the *Presse*. The support of the *Assemblée Nationale*, the *Evénement*, and some other newly-established papers, seems to me to be almost certain.

You have the principal newspapers of the Gironde, of the Char-ente, supérieure and inférieure, of the Somme, and in general of all the west. You will also have several in the south. Do not neglect Toulouse, Montpellier, Nîmes, and especially Marseilles, where Berryer, who is said to be favourable to us, has great influence. Think of the personages beyond sea: they can do still more. The ex-Deputy de Jouvenel might help you in the Limousin; I suppose he must sail with you. But there is no need to give you this advice; you are much more in a position to judge of the men and the means that must be employed than I am.

The programme I have drawn for you no doubt has some good in it; but nothing final. It is impossible to say quite what will have to be done. All that can be said is that great firmness is necessary above all things, and even audacity, as Ledru-Rollin has said after Danton. Why should not men be as firm and bold for good as the wicked are for evil? I am quite convinced that a good Republic can only be established in that way. I do not believe success will be gained by conciliation, and all the weak measures derived from it.

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In this long letter, intended to be shown to a few

friends, it is perceptible that the Marshal was more doubtful than enthusiastic. It must be acknowledged that General Cavaignac's candidature was especially disagreeable to him; on the other hand, he did not hide from himself that it would be hard to secure votes for his name, as he was just then the representative of the partisans of constitutional monarchy.

It should be mentioned that Bugeaud's candidature had become a very serious matter, and if the Napoleonic legend had not been revived the Marshal's name would certainly have been received with acclamations. His name, suddenly become popular, represented the authority and freedom that France had enjoyed during the eighteen years of Louis-Philippe's reign, and that France, undeceived and repentant, sincerely regretted after eight months of republic and anarchy.

M. Louis Veuillot had not been the last to support Marshal Bugeaud's candidature. He had opened the matter to him on the 24th of October in a confidential letter.\*

He put certain questions to the Marshal; he having long known his candidate had no doubt about answers; but he thought it well to obtain a reply from the Marshal for publication.

The Marshal wrote him a kind of manifesto in reply, from which we take the following extracts:

1. I have always desired religious liberty; I think that a Government ought not to interfere with what regards the conscience, and the exercise of worship recognised as moral. But you will agree that Government cannot tolerate the pretended forms of worship that delirious imaginations have invented, or will invent, as

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\* M. Louis Veuillot's correspondence, as well as the greater part of the most valuable letters addressed to Marshal Bugeaud, were destroyed in the burning of a house at Excideuil that Bugeaud's family had removed to after the death of their illustrious chief.

the men most anxious for religious liberty cannot possibly desire parodies of religion; such, for example, the Abbé Chatel's heresy; and I suppose with absolute liberty more monstrous ones still would be produced.

2. I have long become an advocate for freedom of teaching. The uniform education given by the university has always seemed absurd to me. It made Republicans under the Monarchy: it took but little trouble about religion or morality; in a word, as you say, it produced the generation you see this moment at work. The best way to give fathers of families freedom to bring up their children as they please, and to give them an education suitable to the profession they are intended for, is to give freedom of instruction under Government superintendence, so that wretched corrupted professors may not be able to pervert youth, and that the education may be moral and religious.

3. I also am in favour of very considerable administrative decentralisation, only preserving the centralisation indispensable to secure administrative unity, maintain political unity, and protect the citizens, in certain cases, against the tyranny of municipal councils. You will easily understand that with the whims of universal suffrage, and the hatred breathed by bad philosophers against the rich classes, or those that claim to be so, there will occur, and there do occur now, instances of municipal councils that become the oppressors and robbers of the rich. Many communes have chosen to select as municipal councillors only men of the lowest classes, who, for the most part, possess nothing, or almost nothing. If you granted them full liberty, is it not evident that they might vote a number of additional hundredths, the charge of which would principally weigh upon the well-to-do men of property? Therefore these must have an appeal.

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Adieu; a thousand friendships.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD D'ISLY.

The Marshal's doubts as to his candidature soon resulted in a refusal. The letter he soon after sent to his son-in-law is explicit. It absolutely abandons his own candidature, and gives his adherence to the name, that the opponents of the Republic, that is to say, all the partisans of order, were going to vote for.

*La Durantie, 7th November, 1848.*

MY DEAR FERAY,—Your excellent intentions and Rivet's will

probably be useless.\* There is no means of striving against Louis Napoleon, and I have sent my resignation to Paris for a council composed of Bar, Fouché, and Fournichon, to arrange the most suitable moment for making it public, if, as I suppose, my name is not sufficiently widely adopted by the Paris Committees; and if my resignation does not help Cavaignac's election.

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No doubt you have read the astounding biography of Cavaignac put into the *Moniteur de l'Armée*; it has been distributed all over France at the public expense. The privates of gendarmes have received copies.

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I presume by the time you receive this letter you will have given your vote for the President. You will see my resignation in the papers of the 10th. The friends of order were divided into two camps. The largest, though well disposed to me, begged me to resign, so as not to divide the votes, and so let the National win. The other camp said, Louis Napoleon will win without us, that is certain; we might have a candidate of our own, without running any risk of making the National win, so as not to put our flag in our pockets and abdicate after ruling France for eighteen years.

This opinion is quite reasonable; yet it seemed to me uncomfortable to the circumstances that weigh upon us.

Adieu, my dear Féray; I embrace you.

MARSHAL B. D'ISLY.

I request you to give my thanks to General Charon, and once for all to all the officers, of every rank, who think of me.

As the Marshal had determined, he published the following declaration in the chief Paris newspapers:

*La Durantie, 6th November, 1848.*

Induced by my patriotic and ardent wish to assist in saving the country from the dangers that still threaten it, I was inclined to become a candidate for the presidency of the Republic, spontaneously offered to me from various places in France. A ripper appreciation

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\* Marshal Bugeaud's prophecy came true on the 10th of December, when Louis-Napoleon was elected President of the Republic. The coalition of the Royalists and partisans of order of all shades won a victory over the adepts of the Republican Government. France, this time freely consulted, in perfect independence, and perfect consciousness, affirmed, by 5,434,226 votes against 1,448,107, its aversion for a Republic, though represented by the most honest and upright of the citizens.

of the public mind, and facts that have occurred, changed my views, without altering my devotion to the holy cause of liberty and social order.

I therefore declare to my friends and partisans that I think it to the country's advantage to renounce the distinguished honour with which they desired to crown my military and political career.

If I persisted I might cause a division of votes of the more moderate, and should never forgive myself. I beg of them to concentrate their voices upon a man, to whom general consent may give power enough to rule the present and consolidate the future.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD D'ISLY.

Though Prince Napoleon's election was almost secure, there was reason to fear the explosion of a fresh insurrection of June. In this event Marshal Bugeaud would certainly have played the leading part; all the Conservative forces would have grouped themselves round him. His anxiety is shown in the following letter to Commandant Ducrot, who had announced his approaching marriage:—\*

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\* General Ducrot sent me this letter from the Marshal only a few weeks before his death; and the brave man, the blameless citizen and soldier, whose loss France will long lament, was good enough to write the note we give, with a sore heart, while thinking of all that France expected from his ardent patriotism and decision:—

*Versailles, 6th July, 1882.*

MY DEAR D'IDEVILLE,—I have taken advantage of being confined to my room, by something a little wrong in my leg, to arrange my papers, and have found Marshal Bugeaud's letter that I told you of. I send you a copy. What our good Marshal wrote on the 20th November, 1848, perfectly applies to the present situation. Alas! that he is not here to rally us, and take the offensive vigorously against the barbarians whose tide keeps rising.

My affectionate compliments.

GENERAL A. DUCROT.

General Auguste-Alexandre Ducrot was born at Nevers, 24th February, 1817. Educated at Saint-Cyr; lieutenant, 1840; captain, 1842; commandant, 1847; lieutenant-colonel, 1851; colonel, 1853; general-of-brigade, 1858; general-of-division, 1865. We have seen how he began in Africa under the Duke d'Aumala. In 1859 he made the campaign of Italy as general-of-brigade.

In 1869 he was commanding the first territorial division at Strasbourg, and at this time wrote some letters to General Frossard, afterwards published, in which he sounded a note of alarm that unhappily was not listened to, reporting and giving proofs of the military preparations and superior organization of Prussia. After the declaration of war, he commanded the first division of the First Corps d'Armée, and was in the fight at Reichshoffen. At Sedan, when MacMahon was wounded, he was first in command for four hours, and ordered a movement upon Mézières

*La Durantie, 28th November, 1848.*

MY DEAR COMMANDANT,—I was glad to receive the information you give me of your marriage, and I pray for the happiness of this union.

You know I have always taken great interest in you as I consider you one of our coming officers.

I am delighted to see the patriotism that your letter breathes, and I willingly accept the promise you make to come and range yourself under my flag in the very possible case of our being obliged to protect society by force of arms against the attacks of the barbarians who call themselves socialists, and are every day watching for the moment to throw themselves upon France like vultures. Then we shall not forget our old experience of Africa and elsewhere. They are not a match for our Kabyles of the Djurjura, whom we beat so well together going down towards Bougie.

I wish I could infect all honest Frenchmen with the indignation I feel against the wicked, ignorant, or senseless, who claim to be the regenerators of France.

While waiting to draw the sword, which may God avert, my dear commandant, I hope soon to be in the National Assembly, there to defend the sacred principles that maintain society.

I present my respects to your future bride, and to you my esteem and love.

MARSHAL BUGEAUD, DUKE D'ISLY.

In explanation of the allusions in the above letter, we may quote a page from a work called 'The Era of the Cæsars,' by A. Romieu.\* He gives a masterly description of Marshal Bugeaud, and the work he had to do after 1848.

One man had foreseen these times. He is dead, and France has not had such a loss for long years. Marshal Bugeaud, whose friend

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that would have saved the army, if Wimpfen had not superseded him by order, and stopped it. He was interned at Pont-à-Mousson, but managed to escape, and reached Paris, where he commanded the 13th and 14th Corps. During the siege his heroic attempts at Champigny and Montretout failed. After the capitulation he was elected to the Chamber for the Nièvre. He sat on the right, and resigned his appointments, till he was made commandant of the 8th Corps at Bourges. His profound antipathy for the Anarchists and the Revolution was as great as Bugeaud's. An order of the President of the Republic, Marshal MacMahon, we are sorry to say, deprived him of this command in 1878.

General Ducrot's energy, patriotism, and honesty, will remain famous. Monarchical France has lost a most eager servant and ardent defender in him.

\* Published in 1850 by Lédoyen at Paris.

I am proud to say I was, had, with rare and wise boldness, devoted himself to the future work that the signs of a coming civil war pointed out to him. Under the shade of his chestnuts, in the poor country of Périgord, where, pick in hand, he had presented such a valuable model, from the commencement of our troubles he had undertaken a bold reactionary movement against the anarchists. His high renown as sage and warrior rallied round him as a centre the action of ten surrounding departments.

I have kept the precious letter in which he told me that if the agitators of Paris should oppose the installation of the Constituent Assembly, he was determined to leave his retreat and march upon the capital with 500,000 men who were ready to join his flag. I am sure he would have had them under him before he had gone fifty leagues, and more than one regiment would have followed him. His masculine speech, clear and penetrating, his firm and confident gesture, and an indescribable mixture of power and simpleness, made Marshal Bugeaud one of the men with whom the crowd was most in sympathy.

His calm features very speedily became animated; he was able to throw so much charm and interest over his dry recitals. He was a sight to see, standing upon a rough platform, ruling a close throng of labourers, teaching them the great art of farming, in which he was a master, and, in the pleasing dialect of the country, combating bad methods as well as bad notions.

God had also been pleased to lodge this energetic and simple mind in a body that nothing could shake. Inclement weather, weariness, labours in war or sport, had no effect upon his robust health. I do not suppose that any son of Adam has less known the want of sleep, except the Emperor Justinian, who only slept one hour. His rustic manners, that he laughed at sometimes, were repugnant to the luxuries and elegancies of life. He had the repose of Probus, and, like him, would have astonished the messengers from the Persian court, when they found the Emperor eating the remains of some bacon and peas in the middle of his conquering legions.

His bold visit to Abdel-Kader's camp will be remembered when, thinking the Emir remained seated too long, he raised him up with his strong hand, in front of twenty thousand native Arabs. The vigorous touch of this character was contrasted in high relief with the shades of the picture of the times.

So what an ascendant he had when he began to make his way across France, and went to the army at Lyons! Every step gave him a faithful recruit, every word a devotee. No man gains more by being known. The child-like kindness of the soldier lent an indescribable charm to the appearance of his home, his patriarchate in his family, and the conversation of his hearth. By degrees and inevitable progress, minds had appreciated his value, his qualities,



his sincere patriotism, starting from the injustice of 1832 to the popularity of 1849.

The following letter from Bugeaud to his old aide-de-camp, Colonel L'Heureux, gives some valuable information :—

*La Durantie, 15th November, 1848.*

I knew, my dear L'Heureux, that you were warmly engaged for me at the time of the last elections for the Seine, and I had no doubt you would do as much towards the Presidency. Believe then in my double thankfulness, indeed I may say triple, because you wrote about me to your friends of the Charente Inférieure. They told me my chance was going well. I should have been too angelical if I had intended to recommend General Cavaignac when I resigned; besides that, I do not consider him to be the man for the work; I personally have some reason to complain of him. His behaviour to me was not open. It would take too long to tell you all my little complaints. I confine myself to telling you that my wife wrote to him twice in favour of a dismissed collector, and that his Highness did not deign to answer her with one line.\*

I am not much better pleased with Lamoricière or Charon. My reason is not entirely satisfied, to tell the truth, with the selection of Prince Louis Napoleon. It is very risky; anyway, I prefer this solution to the domination of the infamous National.

If the party of order had not been divided into two or three camps, I would have remained on the ranks. But we ran the risk of only getting a great minority and putting the nomination into the hands of the Assembly. It would have been the establishment of the rule of the National. Now, between two dangers—one certain and immediate, the other eventual—I avoided the first.

I want to have my lodging as near as possible to the Chambers, or among the first, second, and third legions. Nor should I be sorry to be in the neighbourhood of the first military division, because there is always a small kernel of troops.

BUGEAUD.

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\* We feel sure that these letters were never placed under General Cavaignac's eyes.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE ARMY OF THE ALPS (1849).

Prince Louis-Napoleon President of the Republic—Marshal Bugeaud Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Alps—General Order—Travel among the Southern Towns—Correspondence.

At the sitting of 20th December, 1848, Prince Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte received investiture as President of the Republic, at the hands of the President of the Legislative Assembly, Armand-Marrast. The same evening the new Ministry was made up :—Justice, M. Odilon-Barrot ; foreign, M. Drouyn de Lhuys ; public instruction and worship, M. de Falloux ; home, M. Léon de Malleville ; agriculture and commerce, M. Bixio ; public works, M. Léon Faucher ; war, General Rulhières ; navy and colonies, M. de Tracy ; finance, M. Hippolyte-Passy. By a presidential decree of the 20th of December, Marshal Bugeaud was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Alps, relieving General Oudinot ; by the same decree, General Changarnier held the command of the first military division, as well as that of the National Guard of the department of the Seine, and the mobile National Guard.

Three days afterwards, the 23rd of December, a grand review was to be held in the Champ de Mars, and Marshal Bugeaud received the following letter from the new chief of the State :—

*Paris, 23rd December, 1848.*

MARSHAL,—I thank you for the letter you have written to me, and am glad of the support you give my Government in accepting the command of the Army of the Alps.

Like you, I hope we shall maintain peace ; but if ever the honour of France requires war, you, Marshal, would remember your former glory, and would, I doubt not, again bring victory to our standards.

I should be very glad to have the conqueror of Italy by my side to-morrow at the review. If your health allows it, I hope you will come to the Champs Elysée at half-past nine.

Receive, Marshal, the assurance of my great respect.

LOUIS-NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

Immediately after the Revolution of February the Army of the Alps had been constituted by the Provisional Government. Reports that the Orleans dynasty was destroyed had hardly crossed the Alps when revolution began to shake Italy. Milan rose, and, after four days' fighting, drove out the Austrians ; Venice was preparing to do as much ; as for the lawful sovereigns, they were expelled from Florence and Rome. The King of Sardinia's popular Government openly sympathised with the insurrection.

It was easy to foresee an offensive return on the part of Austria. On their side the French Provisional Government, while announcing its pacific intentions to Europe by M. Lamartine's pen, showed by the creation of the army of the Alps that it was not indifferent to the revolutions that had disturbed Italy, and might possibly hold Austria in check.

The French army was composed of three divisions of infantry and one of cavalry. Generals Bedeau, Baraguay d'Hilliers, Magnan, and Oudinot, were the chiefs. The War-Minister arranged that provisionally the senior of these should hold the chief command, and this was the cavalry-general Oudinot.

The affair known as '*Risquons tous*' on the Belgian frontier,\* known as the state of absolute isolation in which we were placed by the fact of Republicanism,

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\* An attempt to infect Belgium with revolution, quashed by the prudence of Leopold I.—ED.

the manifest distrust exhibited towards us by all Europe, very soon extinguished all desire for official intervention beyond our frontiers. Besides, the foe was present at home, the days of June reduced the Republican Government to prudence. At this moment one of the divisions of the Army of the Alps, that of General Magnan, had to be recalled to the camp of Saint Maur to guard the capital.

The name of Army of the Alps was still retained, when Marshal Bugeaud was suddenly called to its head. The new commander-in-chief looked much more for danger from within than without. This view appears in the language of the proclamation he almost immediately addressed to his troops :

ORDER OF THE DAY TO THE ARMY OF THE ALPS.

*Paris, 24th August, 1848.*

SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE ALPS,—The President of the Republic could not do a greater honour to my long career than by placing me at your head, because it gave me the assurance that I could render fresh and great services to France, if occasion should arise for her to call upon your bravery and devotion.

Six years of war in Africa have shown me that our young armies have not degenerated, and that they will be able to imitate the armies of the Republic and the Empire. You are too good citizens to desire war ; but you would all wish to fight if it broke out. Meanwhile you will be the firm defenders of law. You will all understand that order is the strongest warrant of true liberty and public prosperity ; that order is still more necessary to the mass of workers than to the classes that have reached victory through work. There is nothing so popular as order. You are, we all are, children of the people ; and we shall therefore know how to secure that invaluable good, without which they could not enjoy any of the liberties they have acquired.

If my health allowed it, I should be among you now, for I feel a need to know the regiments I have not yet seen, and to renew my acquaintance with those whose labours and glories in Africa I have shared.

I shall do so as soon as my strength returns. Until that time I shall rest with perfect confidence in your good spirit, and the habits

of discipline that are traditional among you. They have been carefully kept up in your ranks by the honourable and able general whom I succeed in command of the Army of the Alps, whom no doubt you regret to lose.

The Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Alps,  
MARSHAL DUKE D'ISLY.

As he informed his soldiers, the Marshal was seriously ill. It was not till six weeks later that he could leave Paris and go to Bourges. He must have been glad to choose this town for his head-quarters, though far from the Alps and Italian frontier, because it was a central position that enabled him to act against opposition wherever it might arise, and where he was half way between Paris and Périgord.

His desire appears in his family correspondence, and is still more evident in his ardent desire to be with his family. Fate separated him from the beings he loved best in the world during the three months that were nearly the last of his life. The Duchess was at La Durantie, Madame Gasson and her children at Puy, Madame Féray at Tenès, his son Charles being educated at Bordeaux.

Speaking to the civil authorities of Bourges, as he did a few days later to those of Lyons, where the Government desired him to place his head-quarters, the commandant of the Army of the Alps turns his attention much more to the foes within than the foreigners who have no wish to make an attack on France.

At Bourges the Marshal received the officers of the National Guard, and told them :—

You see the factions have not renounced their culpable designs ; they hope to seize upon power, and impose their absurd and wicked theories upon France. But we will set this to rights. It is impossible that all honest men, united in the common and patriotic thought of

maintaining the laws, should not win the day against these perverse men who desire to turn France upside down.

As for me, gentlemen, I will devote all my strength, all my faculties, and all the rest of my life, to joining with you in the defence of social order, not in the exclusive interest of a privileged class, but, on the contrary, in the interest of all, rich as well as poor, poor still more than rich. Disturbances, in fact, that stop work everywhere, certainly impair the comfort of the rich, but do not deprive them of their means of existence; while they fall with their whole weight upon the working classes, who, living by their daily toil alone, want necessities as soon as work ceases. Thus I think I show real patriotism in devoting myself entirely to the cause of order.

Gentlemen, there is a shifting of opinion that I approve, and has spread from one end of France to the other. It is that the departments ought no longer to submit to the tyranny of the Paris factions. No; we should no longer bear that a handful of Catilines, and even this comparison does them too much honour, we should no longer allow these few thousands of men, perverse, or led astray, to impose their will upon the vast majority of the country.

I am myself resolved. If, by any impossible chance a red Republic should chance to triumph, one only day in Paris, I would immediately put myself at the head of all those who would follow me to go and defend society. Yes, gentlemen, I should be among the first to start, even if I only had a corporal and four to go with me, and I am quite convinced that good and brave citizens would come from all parts of France and fall in behind me.

I had hoped, gentlemen, to sojourn among you, considering your town as a suitable centre from which to direct the motions of the Army of the Alps, in view of existing circumstances. But the Government places my head-quarters at Lyons; I obey, and shall start for that city to-morrow. But from thence I shall always keep my eyes fixed on Paris; and, if it be necessary for me to enter there at the head of the Army of the Alps, and the National Guard of the Province, let us hope that then, by God's assistance, order would be preserved, not for a few moments, as has happened, but for ever.

I am proud and happy to see you assembled round me, gentlemen, and you may well believe that this is not a vain sentiment of self-love, but because I derive the power that I may need to serve the country as I intend to serve it, from your presence, and the sympathy with which you receive my words.

This language had a great effect at Paris, and this defiance cast at the demagogues terrified the Republican leaders.

At Lyons, the Marshal, addressing the infantry

officers especially, laid down the principles of street fighting in a way that seemed to make a great impression on his audience.

Amid all these grave cares, there were letters written to the Duchess, giving minute directions about farming work at La Durantie, and most affectionate ones to the Comtesse Féray at Tenès ; in one of them he says :—

I am always expecting the Arabs to take up arms, because it is according to their practice. A most cruel revolution is gradually being inflicted upon them, overturning their whole existence, and reducing them to the hard, incessant labour of Europeans, with much less comfort than they have. How can they endure it peaceably ?

*Under date, Lyons, 14th March, 1849.*

The report of an attempt to assassinate me was a mistake. It has been ascertained that the man who carried the loaded pistol had long been accustomed to go about thus armed, and is an honest man.

Do not be uneasy ; there is a very evident reaction going on among the workmen here. At first there was an affectation of shouting for the Republic, several adding Democratic and Social. Well, three days ago, when we threw a bridge across the Rhone, and there were 50,000 spectators round me, I hardly heard two or three cries for the Republic, and that quite bare. Most of the workmen and townspeople bowed to me with quite friendly faces.

THE MARSHAL TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL FERAY AT TENÈS.

*Lyons, 4th April, 1849.*

MY DEAR FERAY,—It is certain that at the coming elections I shall be nominated by the following departments : Charente Inférieure, Dordogne, Haute-Vienne, Rhone, and Seine.

So I should be glad if you would concert with our friends the best methods of making this known to the army of Africa, so that the soldiers of these five departments may know that they can vote for me. I should think that Charon and Creny would not refuse to help you. There is no time to lose.

TO THE COUNTESS FERAY.

*Lyons, 9th April, 1849.*

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War is brewing in Europe, perhaps even with England. In that event you cannot remain at Tenès. If I am employed in this war, as is likely, I shall immediately send for your husband.

The Marshal's private letters show what a troubled life he was leading, how much he had to move about, his occupations and incessant receptions. Less than a year after the revolution of 1848, Lyons was a dangerous spot for the man upon whom the Republican press so unjustly persisted in laying the responsibility of the bloody repression in the rue Transnonnain.

When the Commander-in-chief arrived, a red Lyons newspaper, the *Peuple Souverain*, repeated the usual calumnies. The Marshal did not spare this paper. The next day he desired the President of the order of advocates at Lyons, M. Vachon, to lay an information for libel. A week afterwards, the criminal court, overruling an argument as to jurisdiction brought for the defence, sentenced the editor to a month's imprisonment, 1000 francs fine, and 500 francs damages. The sentence was confirmed on appeal.

The Marshal had no hesitation about appearing in public. The day after he arrived he went to the club in the rue Bourbon ; on the 20th February he went to see a bridge thrown across the Rhone, and returned by the populous suburb of the Croix Rousse ; on the 5th of March he visited the western fortifications beyond Fourvières. There were more people at each of these expeditions, and more enthusiastic. As observed in his letters, there were fewer and fewer shouts for the Republic.

He went wherever he thought duty called him. Thus on the 24th of February he, with his staff, was present at a service in the cathedral of St. Jean, in honour of those who perished in the revolution of the 24th of February.



The halts on his principal excursions were made at St. Etienne, 27th February; Bourgoin, 20th March; Voiron, 21st March; Grenoble, 22nd March; Valence, 24th March; Villefranche, 15th April. The more second-rate the place, the warmer was his personal welcome, especially from the rural populations.

There were several pleasing events connected with meeting several old soldiers of the armies of Spain and the Alps; we will only mention two.

At the club of Grenoble on the 24th of March was General Marchand, now over eighty. Marshal Bugeaud went straight to him, embraced him, and told the Dauphinois, who crowded round, 'Gentlemen, Marchand was a lieutenant-general when I was a private under him.'

At Villefranche, on the 15th of April, some retired officers presented themselves, wearing their old uniforms. One of them, M. Perraud, reminded him that they had fought together at the siege of Lerida, in Spain. 'I commanded,' said M. Perraud, 'one of the two companies that led the assault; you commanded the other.' The Marshal's memory and presence of mind were rarely at fault, and he answered, 'You were shot in the thigh?' M. Perraud assented; and the Marshal said, 'You were luckier than I; I was not wounded in the affair,' and shook hands with his old comrade.

Prince Napoleon's election was far from having quieted revolutionary passions, and, thanks to the demagogue leaders, Paris was still a prey to agitation and effervescence—inevitable consequences of the letting loose of all covetousness and desire.

During this year, 1849, barely half of which the

Marshal was to behold, being suddenly recalled to political and military life, compelled to organize an important military force amid revolutionists, he was able to command the honest and wholesome popularity that his loyal nature obtained from all those who came in contact with him.

Absent from his dear family, he was always thinking of them above all things, and in spite of the cares of business. He also thought of his crops, as well as of social defence; no more did he forget the great work of his life—the conquest and colonisation of Africa. His great interest is shown in a long letter written to his successor, Lieutenant-general Charon, only a few days before his death: a kind of testamentary deposition of his views for the colony. The postscript to the letter is:

I was on the point of being one of the Cabinet, or making one up myself. By the fault of some politicians, the power has fallen into the hands of those who are called the third party, who, I thought, had been destroyed by the revolution of February. It seems that some undecided fastidious spirits, who spare the wicked more than they do the good, are not cured by the revolutions and dangers that threaten society.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THE ASSEMBLY—DEATH (1849).

Marshal Bugeaud's Position towards the New Government—Elections to the Legislative Assembly—Deputy for Charente-Inférieure—Sitting of 30th of May—Death, 10th of June—The Prince-President—Louis Veuillot's Discourse—Funeral at the Invalides—Speeches of Molé and Bedeau—Statues—Conclusion.

THE new chief of the State might have taken umbrage at the unrivalled position of Bugeaud, Marshal of France, former Governor-general of Algeria, Commander-in-chief of the army of the Alps, if he had not appreciated the patriotism and political probity of the great soldier. Indeed, it was in all sincerity, and without afterthought, that the ex-candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, had, with all the men for order and discipline of all parties, rallied round the latent dictatorship of Prince Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte.

The victor of Isly had never hesitated to lend the new Government the support of his name, and the influence of his military popularity, whatever might be his political preferences. And, indeed, we must say that Marshal Bugeaud, holding a great military command in France, and being a deputy to Parliament, in presence of a *de-facto* Government, like that of the Republic under the Presidency of a Bonaparte, had in a sort of way more elbow room, and could be more at ease in haranguing his soldiers, and speaking to the Ministers, than when he was

confined within the narrow bonds of parliamentary practice, and restrained by his respect for the King, and the tender affection he had conceived for the Duke d'Aumale.

In Paris Marshal Bugeaud had 107,437 votes at the election of May 20th, 1849. Twenty-eight deputies were elected, he came twenty-ninth. A very good proof of the confusion and disturbance of mind then existing, as now, is the fact that the first elected for Paris was Prince Lucien Murat, with 134,825, and the second Ledru-Rollin with 129,068 votes.

The Legislative Assembly, having made room for the National Constituent Assembly, met at the Palais Bourbon on the 28th of May. Two days afterwards, on the 30th of May, there was a scene of disturbance. The provisional committee was retiring. There was an exchange of very bitter language between the President by seniority, M. de Keratry, and M. Ledru-Rollin. The moderate party was represented by 505 members; the Ultra-Democrats by 229 votes. These last made up in violence for their inferiority of numbers.

When there was reason to fear that the Assembly's excitement would be repeated on the tribunes, Bugeaud, supporting a motion to order of Ledru-Rollin, the leader of the Mountain, spoke the celebrated words that had a high significance in his mouth more than in that of any other person.\* This is the account given of the termination in the *Moniteur Officiel*.

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\* The Ultra-Democrats were out-numbered in the proportion of more than two to one, and at the sitting of the 30th, Ledru Rollin complained, with some show of reason, that the majority were about to take an unfair advantage of their superiority.—*Quarterly Review*, No. 312, p. 491.

*M. Ledru-Rollin.*—I appeal to the justice of the Assembly. The late committee retired because they thought that the tribune was not free. The President's words have removed all trace of the incident. As for me, I think the secretaries should resume their places.

*A Voice.*—We will not give in to you.

*M. Ledru-Rollin.*—The Assembly cannot adopt such a sentiment. I think it will be an act of justice for the committee to resume its duties ; the committee shared the feeling that caused me to leave the tribune. Their resignation was only conditional. I declare in my turn that if the opposition is continued, I shall give up speaking, as I must think that the tribune is not free.

*M. Bugeaud.*—I hope that I may often find myself in agreement, during the course of the session, with Monsieur Ledru-Rollin, or citizen Ledru-Rollin if you like it. I support his conclusions. Majorities, gentlemen, are bound to more moderation than minorities.

The grand words of the Marshal-deputy attracted much attention. His generous appeal to moderation, conciliation, and justice, was at the moment received as it deserved. Unhappily, minds were over-excited ; the hatreds of those in the minority by universal suffrage, were too much inflamed for the mitigation claimed by the Marshal, to be able to last more than one sitting.\* Anyhow, he spoke those grand and noble words, the last speech he ever made.

Although the deputies had elected the Marshal

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\* The effect was temporary, and the overthrow of that very Assembly was mainly owing to the abuse which the party of order made of their majority.—*Quarterly Review*, *ibid.*

President of the fourth committee, he had no intention of remaining long at Paris. He knew that imperious duties recalled him to Lyons, and he prepared to resume the command of his Army of the Alps, when the terrible malady, then prevalent at Paris, suddenly seized him. During his short stay he had been the guest of one of his friends, Comte Vigier, formerly peer of France, whose house was No. 1 on the quai Voltaire.

The strong soldier first felt the attack of cholera as he was returning from the Chamber on the 6th of June, about four in the afternoon. M. Léon Roches told us, 'I was in a carriage, and going to the Marshal, when I saw him dragging himself along the quai with slow steps, opposite the barrack on the quai d'Orsay. He was pale, his face streaming with perspiration, his walk tottering; he made his way leaning against the parapet of the quai. I jumped out of my carriage, and helped him home. He lay down never to rise again.'

The *Journal des Débats* printed this in its number of the 9th of June, 1849:—

'All thoughts at this moment seem concentrated on one man alone, because he is at once the personification of patriotism, military honour, and the standard of order. This man, there is no need to name him, is Marshal Bugeaud.

'As soon as it was known that he was attacked by the cruel epidemic, which is spreading desolation within our walls, all Paris has been coming every day and every hour, to inquire for the great captain and great citizen, whose life is in danger.

'As soon as the President of the Republic was informed of the serious illness, he was one of the

first to come and convey to the Marshal the expression of the immense interest taken in his health by all ranks of society without exception. Few words, but much feeling, marked this visit, which does equal honour to him who paid, and to him who received it. As M. Louis Napoleon left the man, on whose support he had so much reason to reckon, he could scarcely control the tears that filled his eyes.'

The *Evènement* of the same day gives further particulars :—

' This morning, at eleven o'clock, the President of the Republic was by the Marshal's bedside. Colonel Vaudrey, the President's first aide-de-camp, Colonel Féray, the Marshal's aide-de-camp and son-in-law, Colonel l'Heureux, aide-de-camp to the War-Minister, and M. Achille Vigier, were in the sick room.

' The Marshal's hand was affectionately grasped by the President, while he said, " I am very glad to see you, Prince ; you have a great mission to accomplish. You will save France, with the union and help of all good men. God has not thought me worthy of being left here to assist you. I feel that I am dying."

' The President answered, " All hope is not over, we are in need of you, and God will save you." The persons present retired, on a sign from the Marshal, and a conversation lasting ten minutes took place between the President of the Republic and the brave Marshal.

' As the President went away he said, " I shall come and see you again." The Marshal answered, " You have other duties to perform. Thank you ; I see all is over for me."

By the evening of the 9th, the Marshal's condition left little hope. From ten in the evening till four in the morning, an almost continual drowsiness took possession of him. The pain abated, ease gradually supervened.

His host, Comte Vigier, Colonels l'Heureux and Trochu, MM. Genty de Bussy, Maigne, General de Bar, the Abbé Sibour, vicar-general of the diocese of Paris, watched by the sick man, with a young student of the Hôtel Dieu, placed with the Marshal by Doctor Chomel.

At five in the evening symptoms of fever appeared. The Abbé Sibour remaining alone with the Marshal, prepared to administer the last sacraments. The old African interpreter, M. Léon Roches, the two aides-de-camp, and all friends of the last moment, were kneeling round the bed.

The Marshal received the Holy Communion with all the fervour of a Christian and the calm of an honest man. Before the priest administered the *viaticum* he spoke a few words of exhortation to resignation and a good death, the Marshal repeated these three words after God's minister, '*Fiat voluntas tua.*' A few moments afterwards Doctor Chomel came to listen to the Marshal's heart, when the sick man said in a strong and natural voice, 'It is all over with me.' As soon as he had received the last sacraments, alarming symptoms appeared in his features. The agony commenced; it was neither long nor cruel. God deigned to be merciful.

The Marshal drew his last breath at half-past six, amid the tears and sorrows of his faithful friends pressing round the bed to kiss his hand for the last time.



A few minutes after the last moment, General Cavaignac, Count Molé, and the War-Minister, General Rulhières, entered the room. General Cavaignac's grief was especially keen, he knelt by the bed and burst out sobbing.

The Archbishop of Paris arrived at half-past seven, expecting to see the Marshal a last time. Generals Tartas and Gentil arrived at the same time. The prelate knelt before the calm and serene figure of the grand soldier and honest man, and gave his final benediction.

The chief of the state received the intelligence with great sorrow, and seating himself at his desk, gave M. Maigne, who brought him the information, a letter for Colonel Féray.

This 10th June was one of the most fatal days of the epidemic. The number of deaths by cholera at home and in the hospitals amounted to 672. The weather was stormy, the air stifling. Paris was greatly grieved at hearing of the event. The city was shocked. We are ashamed to say for the honour of the French name, that some republican journals of Paris and Lyons gave free expression to their delight at the disappearance of the Conqueror of Algeria, the implacable foe of revolutionists.

By a strange coincidence, the sickness and death of the illustrious man of war seemed to be a signal of conflagration. Revolutionary passions seemed as if they had chosen to await the very moment of his death-struggle, to burst out more vehemently than before. Indeed, it was a very near chance that the Duke d'Isly had not a bloody funeral. The very day after the Marshal had been obliged to leave the Palais Bourbon on the 7th of June, Ledru-Rollin

with wonderful bitterness and singular vigour of language questioned the Government on the affairs of Rome. On the spot he lodged a protest founded on article 5 of the constitution, which forbids any war against foreign nationalities. This speech ended by these words, 'The constitution is violated, we will defend it by all means, even with arms.' At the same time he moved for the prosecution of the President of the Republic and the Ministers.

Next day, the 10th of June, the Marshal died. On the 11th, as soon as the sitting began, the Chamber put an end to the discussion of the affairs of Rome by a pure and simple order of the day, passed by 360 votes against 203. A dull agitation was afloat in Paris; large groups were standing about around the Palais Bourbon. On the 13th, the deputies of the Mountain retired in a body as soon as the sitting of the Chamber opened; they published a proclamation to the people of France declaring outlawry against the President of the Republic, the Ministers, and the portion of the Assembly that had acted with them. The National Guard was summoned to meet, the workshops to be closed, and the people to remain alert.

At the same time, Ledru-Rollin, at the head of a certain number of the Mountain deputies, and escorted by the artillerymen of the National Guard came down into the street. The insurrection was just going to spread everywhere when their leader, Ledru-Rollin, and his friends met at the Conservatoire. What occurred is known; they were surrounded by the troops, and there was a panic in the ranks of the agitators. The tribune escaped by a casement

window, and disappeared for ever from the political arena. As for his accomplices, they were tried a few days afterwards by the high court of Versailles.

The day after the Marshal's death, the French papers announced the catastrophe. M. Louis Veuillot's funeral oration appeared at the head of the columns in the *Univers*.

Letters of condolence were sent to the Marshal's family from all sides, including one from the Duke d'Aumale expressing his great attachment to the Marshal.

Mdme. Féray was at La Durantie with her mother; they had been going to join the Marshal at Lyons when he was sent for to Paris by the President to endeavour to form a ministry. He was already ill, but Colonel Saget had brought favourable intelligence as they were just starting for Paris, and said the Marshal was immediately to be moved to La Durantie as his best cure. The preparations for departure were converted into preparations for his coming, his favourite flowers were got ready, when, alas! the doctors advised twenty-four hours' delay, and that was fatal. The Bishop of Périgueux came to bring information of the dreadful calamity.

\* \* \* \* \*

The whole country was in consternation. There was a compact crowd round the house. The servants were kneeling round the Duchess in tears. A peasant woman pressed her hands and said, 'Our master is gone; the great protector of the village, what will become of us?'

At the commencement of the sitting of July 11th, in the National Assembly, President Dupin made a funeral oration over Deputy Bugeaud; it was short, but its very laconicism is eloquence, and its four lines are worth a long speech.

‘Gentlemen, I regret to have to announce to the Assembly the death of Marshal Bugeaud. This loss will be keenly felt by all France. The Marshal was at once a great captain and a great citizen. (Great applause.) I will draw lots for the deputation to attend his obsequies.’

Several members.—‘We will all go.’

The funeral was solemnized on the 19th of June, at the Invalides in the presence of the Prince President, followed by a numerous staff, and was attended by a very large number of the marshals of France, generals, and officers of all ranks, the president and vice-president of the Assembly, and almost all the representatives.

When the troops had defiled past the bier, M. Molé, for civilians, and General Bedeau for soldiers, recapitulated the Marshal's services.

Algeria put on mourning, and the Akhbar on the 19th of June initiated a movement for a monument to their hero. On the 15th August, 1852, the Governor-general of Algeria presided at the inauguration of this statue. And in September 1853, another monument was erected in the town of Périeux.

We have reached the termination of our work and are troubled. Were we worthy to revive such a personage? Was not the history of this high-souled life a real epic poem, above our power? However it may be, if the grandeur of the subject has crushed

the writer, he does not regret the time devoted to this patient study ; he only hopes that as the reader turns these pages, he will find the great delight and comforting thoughts, that he himself has had in composing them.

\* \* \* \* \*

THE END.



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